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ARTICLE I.

SCHMID'S DOGMATIC THEOLOGY.* TRANSLATED FROM
THE GERMAN AND LATIN.

By CHARLES A. HAY, D. D., Professor in the Theological Seminary,
Gettysburg, Pa.

§7. *The Attributes of the Sacred Scriptures.*†

If the Sacred Scriptures be really the Word of God, then it follows, that we are bound to yield to them implicit faith and obedience. As they are the only source of truth, they must contain this entirely and so clearly that we can really learn it from them. And they are, finally, as the Word of God, the only means by which we can attain unto faith, and, therefore, they must also be powerful

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† *Vide Evangelical Quarterly Review*, vol XXI, p. 299.

enough to awaken this faith in us. We ascribe to them, therefore, the attributes of *authority, perfection or sufficiency, perspicuity and efficiency.*

§8. (1.) *Authority.*

Baier: "The authority of the Sacred Scriptures is the manifest dignity, that inclines the human understanding to assent to their instructions, and the will to yield obedience to their commands." We believe what the Holy Scriptures declare, simply because *they* declare it, and it is they that beget faith in us, and they are the only source from which we derive our faith. They are, at the same time, the only inspired book, and by this they are distinguished from all other writings. So that it is only from them that we can learn what is true in divine things; and they furnish the means, by which we can everywhere distinguish between truth and error. The authority of Sacred Scripture is, accordingly, divided into (a) *causative authority*, by which the Scriptures create and confirm in the mind of man assent to the truths to be believed. (b) *Normative or canonical authority*, by which both authentic Scripture is distinguished from other writings and versions, and that which is true from that which is false.²

(a.) *Causative authority.* This rests upon the fact, that we acknowledge God as the author of the Sacred Scriptures,³ and, this we prove by the inspiration of the Sacred Scriptures.⁴ The proofs of inspiration are, it is true, derived in the first instance, only from the Sacred Scriptures themselves, and already presuppose faith in the Sacred Scriptures themselves, on the part of those who admit them as evidence. But, for the Church and her members, there is no need of proof for the inspiration of Scripture, for her very existence depends upon this faith, and this faith precedes all proofs,⁵ without this no article of faith would be based upon the Sacred Scriptures.⁶ Therefore, the proof, that the Sacred Scriptures are inspired, or what amounts to the same thing, that they are of divine origin, and consequently possess full authority in matters of faith, is required only for those who are yet without the Church, or who, if within her pale, are not confirmed in the faith. But it lies in the nature of the case, that no proof can be given to those, which they cannot, in an unbelieving frame of mind, evade; for the only absolutely stringent proof lies in the fact, that the Holy Spirit bears witness in the

heart of each individual, and thus convinces him of the divinity of the Word of God, by the mighty influence which it exerts upon him; but, that this may be the case, it is necessary, that the individual do not resist the drawings of the Holy Spirit, and, before this takes place, the testimony of the Holy Spirit can have no probative power for him.⁸ To this experience, therefore, the individual is referred, and through it alone will he attain to absolute certainty in regard to the divinity of the Sacred Scriptures. All other so called proofs, are rather to be considered as such evidences for the divinity of the Sacred Scriptures, as can make this probable to the individual, and invite him to give himself up to the influence of the Holy Spirit, in order to acquire for himself the same experience which the Church has gained.⁹ Such evidences are of two kinds. The Sacred Scriptures, namely, themselves testify in regard to this divinity, by their internal excellence and dignity (*εὐρίπια interna*, internal proofs,) and the effects which the Sacred Scriptures have produced upon others, testify also to the same, (*εὐρίπια externa*, external proofs.¹⁰) These evidences the Church holds out to each individual and seeks by their means to induce him to yield his heart to the influence of the Holy Spirit, who will produce in him the full conviction of the divinity of the Sacred Scriptures.¹¹

(b.) *Normative or canonical authority.* *Hollazius*: "The canonical authority of Scripture, is the supreme dignity of Scripture, by which, in virtue of its meaning, as well as of its divinely inspired style, it is the infallible and sufficient rule, by which all that is to be believed and done by man, in order to secure eternal salvation must be examined, all controversies in regard to matters of faith decided, and all other writings adjudged."¹² Accordingly, we must acknowledge the Sacred Scriptures, as the rule and guide of our life, by which alone, all controversies in regard to divine things must be settled,¹³ so that in no case, is the addition of any other authority required, by which they might be decided.¹⁴ But if the Sacred Scriptures are thus the only judge of controversies, the question arises: how is this decision to be obtained from them? It lies in the nature of the case, that not every one can accomplish this with equal success, for certain previous conditions are required for this purpose, without which the Sacred Scriptures cannot be understood and expounded; and besides, necessary ecclesiastical order demands, that at least for the

public investigation and announcement (*öffentliche Erhebung*,) of the decisions contained in Sacred Scriptures, there should be a regular calling. Hence, it pre-eminently belongs to the Church publicly to make known, by means of her representatives (the clergy,) the decision discovered in the Sacred Scriptures, in reference to a contested point,¹⁵ whence, however, it does not yet follow, that every private individual within the pale of the Church does not possess the right of private judgment.¹⁶ If, then in certain cases, the adjustment of a controversy be not attained, the fault lies not in the Sacred Scriptures, but in the fact, that the Sacred Scriptures were not properly interpreted, or the proper interpretation was not adopted.¹⁷ But, in every case, when such a controversy is to be decided, resort must be had to the original text of the Sacred Scriptures; for, although a good translation may enable us to secure the testimony of the Holy Spirit, it is never so accurate, that we dare employ it in doubtful cases, in which often everything depends upon the most accurate investigation of the single words of the original text.¹⁸

1. The *attributes* are variously enumerated by the early divines. CALOVIUS and QUENSTEDT add to those we have mentioned *infallible truth, the power of interpreting itself, normative and judicial authority*, which are again by others incorporated in those we have mentioned.

Some theologians also add the following as secondary attributes : (1.) *"Necessity*; or, that it was necessary for the Word of God to be committed to writing, in order to preserve the purity of the heavenly doctrine. (2) *Integrity and perpetuity*; or, that the Sacred Scriptures have been preserved entire, and will be thus perpetually preserved. (3). *Purity and uncorrupted state of its sources*; or, that the Hebrew text in the Old Testament, and the Greek in the New, has not suffered, in all copies, any corruption, either through malice or carelessness, but has been preserved by Divine Providence, free from all corruption. (4.) *Authentic dignity*: or, that the Hebrew text alone of the Old Testament, and the Greek of the New, is to be regarded as authentic, nor is any version to be counted worthy of such supreme authority. (5.) The liberty of all to read for themselves."

2. BAIER: "The authority of Scripture, so far as it regards the assent that is to be yielded to its declarations, may be viewed in a two-fold light; *first, in a strict sense, in order to cause assent to the things that are to be believed*, which right the Scriptures hold because, inasmuch as they are the source of knowledge and the formal object

of faith and revealed theology ; *secondly*, in order to distinguish by the inspired Scriptures themselves, both the true Scriptures and those other teachings which relate to matters of faith and practice ; and this right they hold, inasmuch as they are canonical, or the rule and guide whereby to distinguish truth from falsehood. For, although the authority of Scripture is one and the same, based upon the veracity of God and the dependence of the Scriptures upon God, through which it is appointed, both in a formal sense to produce faith, and in a normal sense to examine and decide between certain Scriptures and other teachings ; and as, further, the Scriptures are to be employed somewhat differently for the formal purpose of causing assent to the faith, and when used for the normal purpose of distinguishing truth from falsehood ; thus, also, we must by all means treat distinctly of both these methods in discussing the authority of Scripture. HOLLAZIUS : In the former method, they (the Holy Scriptures,) are employed in every language for producing faith in the mind of an unbelieving man, and of confirming it in the mind of a believer ; in which respect this authority is called causative or promotive of faith : in the latter method they are employed only in the original text, to distinguish from the actually inspired Scripture the Hebrew and Greek versions, the symbolical books, and all writings that treat of matters of faith and practice.

3. BAIER : "The authority of Scripture, viewed in itself, and absolutely, or with reference to its contents, depends upon God, the sole Author of Scripture, and results from His veracity and great and infinite power." GERHARD : "Inasmuch, then, as the Sacred Scriptures have God for their author, by whose immediate inspiration the prophets, evangelists and apostles wrote, therefore, they also profess divine authority ; because they are inspired, (*θεοπνευματος*) they are in like manner (*αὐτοπιστοι*, το πιστον αὐ' εαυτῆς ἰσχυσα) self-commendatory, securing faith by virtue of their own inherent excellence."

4. BAIER : "So far as we are concerned, or that we may be convinced, that the Holy Scriptures are worthy to receive faith and obedience, not only these perfections of God must be known, but also the dependence of Scripture upon God, or its inspiration by Him, (*θεοπνευματος*). Our conviction, however, rests upon the two theses, (1.) Whatsoever Scripture is recorded by divine inspiration, that is certainly and infallibly true. (2.) The Holy Scriptures were recorded by divine inspiration.

5. GERHARD : "Those who are embraced within the pale of the Church, do not inquire about the authority of Scripture, for this is their starting point. How can they be true disciples of Christ, if they pretend to call in question the doctrine of Christ ? How can

they be true members of the Church if they are in doubt concerning the foundation of the Church? How can they wish to prove that to themselves which they always employ to prove other things? How can they doubt concerning that whose efficacy they have experienced in their own hearts? The Holy Spirit testifies in their hearts, that the Spirit is truth, i. e., that the doctrine derived from the Holy Spirit is Absolute truth.

6. GERHARD therefore very properly observes, that the doctrine of the authority of Scripture, is no article of faith, but rather of the fountain-head of the articles of faith. "The doctrine concerning the canon is, properly speaking, not an article of faith, since Moses, the prophets, evangelists and apostles did not fabricate in their writings a new article of faith superadded to the former, which they taught orally."

7. GERHARD: "The first (testimony) is the internal witness of the Holy Spirit, which, as it bears witness to the spirit of those that believe, that they are the sons of God, Rom. 8: 16, so, also, it efficaciously convinces us, that in the Scriptures the voice of our Heavenly Father is contained, and God is the only fit and authentic witness. To this testimony belong the living feelings of the pious in daily prayer, and the exercises of penitence and faith, the grace of consoling and strengthening the mind against all kinds of adversities, temptations, persecutions, &c., &c., which the pious daily experience in reading and meditating upon Scripture."

QUENSTEDT: "The grand reason by and through which we are led to believe with a divine and unshaken faith, that God's Word is God's Word, is the intrinsic power and efficacy of that Word itself, and the testimony and seal of the Holy Spirit, speaking in and through Scripture. Because the bestowment of faith, not only that by which we believe in the articles, but even, that by which we believe in the Scriptures, that exhibit and propose the articles, this is a work that emanates from the Holy Spirit, or the Supreme Cause."

HOLLAZIUS: "By the internal testimony of the Holy Spirit, is here understood the supernatural act of the Holy Spirit through the Word of God, attentively read or heard, (his own divine power being communicated to the Holy Scriptures,) inciting, opening, illuminating the heart of man and inciting it to obedience unto the faith, so that man, thus illuminated by internal, spiritual influences, clearly perceives, that the word proposed to him did exactly proceed from God, and thus yields to it unqualified assent." The Scripture proof for the testimony of the Holy Spirit, is deduced from 1 John 5: 6; 1 Thess. 1: 5, 6; 2: 13. To the common objection, that theology here reasons in a circle, the following answer is returned: HOLLAZIUS: "If I enquire, says the objector: how do you know that the Scrip-

tures are divine? The Lutherans answer: 'Because the Holy Spirit in each one testifies and confirms this by the Scripture.' If I ask again: how do you prove that this Holy Spirit is divine? the same person will reply: 'Because, the Scriptures testify, that He is divine, and His testimony infallible.' To all of which, we reply: "We must distinguish between a sophistical circle and a demonstrative retrogression. In reasoning in a circle, one unknown thing is employed to prove another equally unknown; but in a demonstrative retrogression, we proceed from confused knowledge, to that which is distinct. For the divine dignity of Scripture is proved by the supernatural effect of the Holy Spirit, operating efficaciously through the Scriptures, illuminating, converting, regenerating, renewing. But, if you ask, whether that spirit be divine or malignant, then we reason from the effect, which is divine and salutary, that the Spirit, who bears witness within, concerning the origin of the Sacred Scriptures, is divine, most holy and excellent." QUENSTEDT further adds: "The Papists, therefore, wrongly accuse us of reasoning in a circle, when we prove the Sacred Scriptures from the testimony of the Holy Spirit, and the testimony of the Holy Spirit from the Sacred Scriptures. Else would it be also reasoning in a circle, when Moses and the prophets testify concerning Christ, and Christ concerning Moses and the prophets; or, when John the Baptist testifies, that Christ is the Messiah, and again, Christ, that John the Baptist is a prophet."

8. Therefore GERHARD distinguishes among those who stand without the pale of the Church, two classes: "some are curable who come with minds tempered and desirous of learning, others are incurable who come with minds unyielding and obstinate, and who contumaciously resist the truth, Acts 13: 46; 19: 28. The incurable, just as those who are past recovery, are to be forsaken to their fate, Titus 3: 10. The same applies to those who are within the pale of the Church, if, in the midst of temptation, they begin to doubt the authority of Scripture."

9. QUENSTEDT: "Those arguments both of an internal and external nature, by which we are led to the belief of the authority of Scripture, make the inspiration of Scripture probable, and produce a certainty not merely conjectural but moral, so, that to call it in question, were the work of a fool; but they do not make the divinity of Scripture infallible, and place beyond all doubt, nor do they convince the mind internally *ἀπαραρτίως καὶ ἀπερανσίως*, i. e. they do not beget a divine, but merely a human faith, not an unshaken certainty, but a credibility, or a very probable opinion."

10. GERHARD: I. "The internal criteria (*ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν ἑαυτῇ*) inherent in the Scriptures themselves, some of which are found in the causes, others in the effects, some in the subject-matter, others in incidental cir-

cumstances ; such criteria are antiquity, the majesty of the subjects discussed, peculiarity of style, harmony of all its parts, dignity of its predictions concerning future events, the truth of their fulfilment, divinity of the miracles by which that doctrine is confirmed, the violence of the diabolical opposition to it, the efficacy of Scripture itself, in persuading and moving to action. II. The *external testimonies* (which can be drawn from all classes of men) among which is pre-eminent the testimony of the Church, to which we may add, that of the martyrs, who sealed the doctrine taught in Scripture, with their blood. Also, the punishment of blasphemers and persecutors, who contumaciously opposed this doctrine.

The later divines present these proofs in substantially the same manner as HOLLAZIUS : "The *external criteria*, (which are not taken from Scripture, but elsewhere derived,) are, (a) the antiquity of Scripture ; (b) the singular clearness of the sacred writers, their desire after knowledge and truth ; (c) the splendor of the miracles by which the heavenly doctrine is confirmed ; (d) the harmonious testimony of the Church, spread over the whole earth, to the divinity of the Sacred Scriptures ; (e) the constancy of the martyrs ; (f) the testimony of other nations to the doctrine contained in the Sacred Scriptures ; (g) the successful and rapid propagation of the Christian doctrine through the whole world, and its wonderful preservation during so many persecutions ; (h) the extremely severe punishments inflicted upon the despisers and persecutors of the Divine Word." In reference to these, HOLLAZIUS remarks : "We premise these external criteria, in order to prepare the minds of the unbelieving, for reading and meditating upon Sacred Scripture with interest and desire * * it is necessary, that first of all, unbelievers be led by external criteria to regard it as not improbable, that the Sacred Scriptures had their origin in God, and, therefore, begin to respect, read, and meditate upon them.

The *internal criteria*, drawn from the intrinsic nature and attributes of Scripture, BAIER, are : (a) the majesty of God, testifying concerning himself in the Sacred Scriptures ; (b) the simplicity and seriousness of the biblical style ; (c) the sublimity of the divine mysteries which the Scriptures reveal ; (d) the truth of all biblical assertions ; (e) the sanctity of the precepts contained in the Sacred Scriptures ; (f) the sufficiency of the Sacred Scriptures to salvation." In regard to these, HOLLAZIUS further adds : "These internal criteria taken together and conjointly constitute a stronger argument than if taken successively or singly."

11. GERNHARD : "Although the testimony of the Holy Spirit is of the very highest importance, yet we are not to make a beginning with it in the conversion of such men, i. e., they are not commanded to

wait until the Holy Spirit bears witness immediately in their hearts, concerning the authority of Scripture, but they are to be directed to the testimony of the Church, which, in this respect, performs the part of a preceptor to the unbelieving disciple. Just as, therefore, it is necessary for a pupil first to believe, until he afterwards becomes able to form an independent judgment concerning the things taught, so it is necessary for an unbeliever (*paganus*) to yield assent to the testimony of the Church, which is the first step towards ascertaining the authority of Scripture; then the internal criteria of antiquity, prophecies, &c., are to be added. Yet the testimony of the Church alone, is not sufficient to convince an unbeliever of the divine authority of the Scriptures, since he may, perhaps, still be in doubt whether this be really the true Church of God. Wherefore, it is the duty of the preceptor not only to propose precepts, but also to corroborate their truth; thus, it is not sufficient for the Church to declare, that these are divine Scriptures, unless it accompany its declaration with reasons. Then, at length it may follow, that the Holy Spirit bears testimony in the heart of the inquirer, and proves the truth of His words."

The testimony of the Church varies in weight, according as it is derived from the earlier, or from the later Church. GERHARD: "The primitive Church, that heard the apostles themselves, excelled in being the original recipients of the sacred books, in being favored with the living instruction of the apostles, and with a number of miracles to prove the authority of the canon; the next age in which the autographs of the apostles were still preserved, excelled the former in the more complete fulfillment of New Testament prophecies, and in the abundance of versions of both Testaments into various languages, and the testimony concerning the Sacred Scriptures, extracted from various writings of believers; and it excelled the age succeeding it, by possessing the autographs of the evangelists and apostles, the voice of the ancient Church and a number of miracles. The latest age of the Church excels both the others, (although the autographs of the apostles are no more,) in the more perfect fulfillment of prophecy."

Occasion is here taken to protest against the Romish axiom, "all the authority of Scripture depends upon the Church," and to guard against such an interpretation being put upon what has been above stated. HOLLAZIUS: "The authority of the Sacred Scriptures, neither depends upon the Church for the divine, preeminent dignity in which its power lies; nor, in order that it may be known, does it need the testimony of the Church, as the grand and ultimate source of proof, for the divine authority of Scripture, nor, as the only and absolutely necessary argument." GERHARD remarks: (1) "It is one thing for the Church to bear witness to the Scriptures and their authority

ministerially, and another to confer upon Scripture its authority dictatorially and judicially. From the ministry and testimony of the Church, we are led to acknowledge the authority of Scripture, but from this it by no means follows, that the authority of Scripture, either in itself, or in respect to us, depends alone upon the authority of the Church; because, when we now have learned, that the Scriptures are divine and contain the Word of God, we no longer believe the Scriptures on account of the Church, but on account of themselves; because, viz.: they are the voice of God, which is *αὐτῶν φωνή*, and hence, *αὐθεντικός*, which we know must be believed on its own account and immediately. (2) It is one thing for us to become acquainted with the authority of the Scriptures by the testimony of the Church, and another, for the whole authority of the Scripture, so far as we are concerned, to depend solely upon the testimony of the Church. The former we concede, the latter we deny; because, beside the testimony of the Church, we have two other classes of evidence, for the authority of Scripture, and in the same class, that embraces the testimony of the Church, other external evidences derived from all kinds of men may be adduced; yet, at the same time, we do not deny, that the testimony of the Church, is to be preferred to all others in this class. (3) It is one thing to speak of the testimony of the primitive Church, which received the autograph of the sacred books from the apostles, and handed down a credible testimony concerning them to posterity, and another, to speak of the authority of the present Church."

QUENSTEDT notices, in addition, the objection of the Papists, "the Church is more ancient than the Scriptures, therefore, it has greater authority;" to which he replies: "We must make a distinction between the Word of God contained in the Scriptures, and the act of writing itself, or, between the substance of Scripture, which is the Word of God, and its accident, which is the writing of it. The Church is prior to the Scriptures, if you regard the mere act of writing, but it is not prior to the Word of God itself, by means of which the Church itself was collected. Surely the Scriptures, or the Word of God, is the foundation of the Church, Eph. 2 : 20, but the foundation is older than the building."

12. HOLLAZIUS : "The Sacred Scriptures exercise their highest canonical authority, when a controversy arises concerning the truth of a doctrine, and the truth is to be confirmed, and falsehood to be confuted: but the Scriptures exert their faith-producing authority, as often as the unbelieving are to be converted to the Christian faith, or the weak faith of believers is to be strengthened."

13. GERHARD : "The Sacred Scriptures are the rule of our faith and life, therefore, also, the judge of theological controversies. Add

to this, that all the qualities of a rule, properly so called, belong to Scripture. For a rule should be certain, fixed, invariable, fundamental, suited to meet every case, always self-consistent. But these qualities belong neither to tradition, nor the teachings of human reason, nor the writings of the fathers, nor to the Pope, nor to the decrees of councils, but to the Sacred Scriptures alone." Formula of Concord, (Preface 1.): "We teach, that the only rule according to which all doctrines and all teachers are to be estimated and judged, is none other, than the prophetic and apostolic writings of the Old and New Testaments." (Compare also the remarks of QUENSTEDT: "When we say, that the Sacred Scriptures are the only rule of faith and life, conformed to the will of God, we do not speak of every age of the Church, for there was a time, when the Church was instituted and governed without the written Word of God, the time, viz.: before Moses; but, we refer to that age in which the first written canon was prepared, and especially concerning New Testament times, in which all things necessary to faith and the worship of God have been written down, and with great care collected into the canon.")

HOLLAZIUS: "As a rule of knowledge, it performs a two-fold function, directive and corrective. For it directs the thoughts of the human mind, so that they abide within the bounds of truth, and it corrects errors. Wherefore, the Sacred Scriptures are called the canon, or rule, partly on account of their directive character, because the true faith and pure morals are learned from them; partly on account of their corrective character, since controversies in regard to the faith are decided by them, and whatever is right and proper is retained, and what is erroneous and improper is rejected."

Others, as CALOVIUS and QUENSTEDT, express this by a separate attribute, viz.: the normative and judicial authority. CALOVIUS: "The Sacred Scriptures are a rule, according to which all controversies in regard to faith or miracles in the Church should, and can be decided, (Ps. 19 : 5; 2 Cor. 5 : 33; Gal. 6 : 16; Phil. 3 : 16;) and as a rule they are not partial, but complete and adequate, because, beside the Scriptures, no other infallible rule in matters of faith can be given. All others beside the Word of God are fallible, and thus we are referred again to the Sacred Scriptures as the only rule, (Deut. 4 : 2; 12 : 28; Josh. 23 : 6; Is. 8 : 19; Lk. 16 : 19; 2 Pet. 1 : 19;) to which, also, Christ and the apostles always referred as a rule, (Matt. 4 : 4; 22 : 29, 31; Mr. 9 : 12; Jno. 5 : 43; Acts 3 : 20; 13 : 33; 18 : 28; 26 : 23.)

14. Hence, the two corollarise of QUENSTEDT : (1) "It is therefore not necessary that there should be in the Church, a supreme, regularly appointed and universal judge, who, seated upon a visible throne, is peremptorily to decide all strifes and controversies, that

arise among Christians concerning faith and religion, and orally and specifically to pronounce sentence in regard to them. We cannot acknowledge as such a judge, either the Roman Pontiff, or the fathers, or councils. (2) Nor is the decision concerning to the mysteries and controversies of the faith to be granted to human reason, nor to an internal instinct or secret fact."

15. CHEMNITZ: "The Church has the right and liberty of deciding." GERHARD: "If the Church is 'the pillar and the ground of the truth,' and we are 'commanded to hear it,' (1 Tim. 3: 15; Matt. 18: 17,) then all decisions in matters of faith belong to her."

But the right which is hereby ascribed to the Church, is carefully distinguished from that which belongs to the Sacred Scriptures. This is usually done in the following manner: (1) "The principal judge is the Holy Spirit, the instrumental judge, the Sacred Scriptures, the ministerial (inferior) judge, the clergy. In regard to the latter, however, ('whose duty it is to seek for the decision of the Supreme Judge as laid down in Scripture, and from this, to teach what is to be done, to interpret this, and decide in accordance with it,') it is maintained, 'that this judge should not pronounce sentence according to its own will, but according to the rule laid down by the Supreme Judge,' i. e., according to the Sacred Scriptures, which we call the decision of the Supreme Judge, and the rule of the inferior judge, and the directive judge."

And QUENSTEDT: "An inferior decision, (viz.: of a teacher of the Church,) is nothing less than the interpretation, declaration, or announcement of a divine, decisive and definitive judgment, and its application to particular persons and things." Whence it further follows: "We are to abide by the decision of an inferior judge, not absolutely, but if he pronounces according to the prescriptions of the divine law or the Scriptures,, and in so far as he shows, that he decides according to the Word of God. Deut. 17: 10. Wherefore, *we may appeal from this inferior judge to the Supreme, but not conversely, from the Supreme to the inferior.* The subordinate judge is, therefore, not absolute, but restricted and bound by the decisions of the Supreme Judge as recorded in Scripture." According to this distinction, the Sacred Scriptures are called the judging Judge, or the Judge *ad quem*, (to whom there is an appeal,) and the Church, the judged Judge, or the Judge *a quo*, (from whom there is an appeal.)

The Church is, therefore, it is true, *a visible judge*, but merely *discretive*,, which, in the exercise of sound judgment, distinguishes truth from falsehood. She is, however, "*not a judge, specially and strictly so called, viz.: authoritative and decisive*, pronouncing sentence authoritatively, and, by virtue of the authority belonging to her, compelling the disputants to acquiesce in the whole opinion she may propose without further investigation."—HOLLAZIUS.

16. GERHARD : "Whatever properly characterizes a spiritual person, the same may be regarded as belonging to all the sons and members of the Church. The reason of this is, that by spiritual person we understand not merely the clergy, according to the nomenclature of the Papists, but all the children of the Church, who are controlled by the Spirit of God. Rom. 8 : 10. That he that is spiritual judgeth all things.' 1 Cor. 2 : 18."

QUENSTEDT : "We assert, that every believer, according to the measure of the gift of God, can and ought to judge, not indeed, in all controversies, but concerning the doctrines necessary to salvation, and to mark the difference between brass and beans by his own discrete judgment. Not that every one could follow his own notions, as the Papists accuse our Churches of doing, but that he should submit himself to the judgment of the Holy Spirit, recorded in the Scriptures, and examine all things according to the tenor of this decision, *but leave to the learned, the public decision of controversies.* 1 Cor. 10 : 15 ; 11 : 31 ; 1 Thes. 5 : 19."

In accordance with this, a distinction is made between the *public* and the *private* ministerial (inferior) judge. The *public* judge is the clergy, the *private*, each member of the Church, or private person.

17. GERHARD : "We must distinguish between power and its exercise. The Sacred Scriptures are indeed sufficient and adapted, by virtue of their authority, and the perfection and perspicuity of their character, to decide controversies ; but, through the fault of human weakness and wickedness, it happens that this effect does not always, nor with all persons, follow their application ; just as the Gospel is the power of God unto salvation, to all such as believe, Rom. 1 : 16, yet, at the same time, not all are actually converted and saved by the preaching of the Gospel." BAIER : "Doubtless, all controversies that relate to matters of faith and practice, necessary to be decided and known, can, in this way, be adjudged and decided ; only, when an occasion of controversy occurs, let those who are to engage in it, bring to the task minds that are pious, truth-loving and learned. For thus, prejudice and partiality and evil feelings being laid aside, and the arguments of both sides being duly weighed, according to the rule of Scripture, it easily becomes apparent, which is the true and which is the false opinion ; on account of the perspicuity of Scripture, which acts in this case by virtue of its office. But, as to other questions, either side of which, may be held without injury to the faith, their decision ought not to be demanded, or expected to be so clear.

Here belongs, also, the remark, (HOLLAZIUS) : "The Holy Spirit, speaking in the Holy Scriptures, does not, indeed, compel by an external force, but yet effectually moves by an internal persuasion, and

this suffices to illuminate, convert and instruct those, who do not pertinaciously resist the Holy Spirit.

HOLLAZIUS : "The *causative* authority of the faith differs from the *canonical* authority of Scripture, (a) because the Scriptures beget divine faith, through the inspired sense, which sense of Scripture remains one and the same, whether expressed in the original idiom of Scripture, or in a version conformed to the original text. So that the illuminating power, connected with the sense of Scripture, effectually manifests itself in the production of faith, not only by means of Scripture in the original tongues, but also through versions, provided the versions be perspicuous and conformed to the authentic text. Such is Luther's version of the Bible, which is used by believers in our Churches, which, when read, or heard, is as efficacious in causing assent to this faith, as if they would read the Hebrew text of the Old Testament and the Greek of the New, or hear it read and expounded by a teacher, although the words of that version were not immediately inspired by God. But, that the Scriptures may have canonical authority, it is necessary, that not only the sense, but also the words have been derived immediately from God. For to canonical and normal authority in matters of doctrine and practice, an absolute certainty and infallibility in the words themselves is necessary, *which does not exist except in the original text of Scripture*, for this descended to us by immediate divine inspiration. Versions are the work of men, who, in translating the Scriptures may have erred,

ARTICLE II.

REMINISCENCES OF DECEASED LUTHERAN MINISTERS.

LXXX.

CHARLES FREDERIC EDWARD STOHLMAN, D. D.

The subject of our present sketch was a native German, born in Klein, Bremen, in the kingdom of Hanover, February 21st, 1810. His father was a man of more than ordinary ability, well educated, and was engaged in the work of teaching the young. Although somewhat infec-

ted with the prevalent rationalistic spirit of his day, he was deeply interested in the religious education of his children, and to their advancement in Christian principle, he faithfully gave much attention.

Charles was a sprightly youth, and early showed an unusual fondness and aptitude for study. He was very successful in the acquisition of knowledge. For a season he pursued his studies under the direction of his father. Then he was transferred to the renowned *Gymnasium* at Bückeburg, where he was fully prepared for admission to the University of Halle. He entered upon his duties in this celebrated school with great zest, with all his wonted enthusiasm and zeal. Dr. Tholuck was, at the time, a member of the Faculty. His deep piety, evangelical spirit, and earnest Christian character, made an impression upon the youthful student. To the influence of this remarkable man in after life he traced many of his theological views, his strong convictions and religious principles. On the completion of his studies in the University, with his father's family he came to this country in the autumn of 1834, and soon after settled in Erie, Pennsylvania. Here he took charge of a small congregation, worshiping at the time in an old dilapidated school house. With great earnestness he devoted himself to the pastoral work; the congregation rapidly increased, and very soon a convenient church edifice was erected. His labors were accompanied with the divine blessing, and he enjoyed, in a high degree, the public esteem and favor.

In 1838 Dr. Stohlman received and accepted a call to the city of New York, as Pastor of St. Matthew's German Lutheran Church. Here he faithfully and successfully labored till his death. It was an interesting field for his efforts. With an earnest, positive character, an enthusiastic devotion to the interests of his German brethren, and a warm admiration for his vernacular language, he was unwearied in his labors to promote the welfare of his countrymen. In his earlier ministry he, perhaps, awakened the impression that his prepossessions were too strongly in favor of German interests. His course, sometimes, led to the belief, that he supposed the German language would be perpetuated in this land, and to this object the efforts of the Church should be mainly directed. But his views were very much modified, during the latter part of his life. Without any diminution of his attach-

ment to the German, he acquiesced in the conclusion that every day was forced upon his attention, that the Lutheran Church of this country in its future must be an English Church.

Dr. Stohlman was a faithful and successful minister of the Gospel. His heart was in the work. He made his labors a delight, and was never more happy than when most busy with the duties of his calling. He enlisted a host of ardent friends. They clung to him, until the last, with the warmest and most tender affection. His influence over his congregation was extraordinary. "Such indeed," says Dr. Wedekind, "was the confidence reposed in him, that whatever received his endorsement was sure to be favorably regarded by his people, and whatever failed to interest him, received little confidence from them. Emphatically was he the shepherd of his flock. They knew his voice, and followed him. He was the father as well as the minister of his people, a companion to the aged, a judicious counsellor to the young, a true friend to all." In social intercourse he was gentle and refined in his manners, instructive in conversation, abounding in anecdote, and often overflowing with harmless mirth and sportive wit. He was a most genial companion, and took a deep interest in the younger members of the ministry. He had, indeed, a kind word for every one with whom he was brought in contact. His was a ready hand to minister to the hearts of the poor, and the sympathies of his heart ever gave a prompt response to the cry of affliction. He was affable, exemplary in his deportment, consistent and considerate, humble and unostentatious, illustrating in his life the power of divine truth.

Dr. Stohlman was regarded by his brethren as a fine scholar. "A man," says Dr. Schmidt, "of varied, extensive and profound learning, thoroughly read in theology." He occupied a high position as a philologist and a philosopher. "He was," writes Dr. Wedekind, "perfectly at home in the various systems of German philosophy, and possessed the rare ability of clearly distinguishing between the true and the false, the spurious and the real." Capital University, Columbus, Ohio, conferred upon him the Doctorate in Divinity, in 1853. He was deeply interested in the subject of education, and a favorite idea with him for many years, was the establishment of a German College in this country, in which Ger-

man youth might receive the highest literary culture in their native tongue.

He was a good preacher, earnest and impressive, always presenting the gospel with fervency and power, and in his style resembling the celebrated Dr. Dräsiike, of Bremen. "He was truly eloquent," says Dr. Schmidt, "fertile in profound and striking thoughts, wonderfully skilful in developing, educing and exhibiting the deep meanings of the sacred text, earnest and forcible in his appeals to the conscience and heart, and severe, but dignified, in the rebukes which he administered to prevalent vice and wickedness, more especially to the flippant and insolent infidelity which infests our great cities." "There was," says Dr. Wedekind, "a freshness and vigor in his thoughts, that rendered him always attractive. He uttered poetry in his prose, and aphorisms in his ordinary conversation. His thoughts, like his character, were all transparent. Had his physical strength and his voice been equal to his mental power, he would have been one of the first German orators in the land." In preaching he adhered strictly to the prescribed *pericopes*, a practice from which he departed only for some special cause, on some particular occasion.

Dr. Stohlman wielded the pen of a ready and forcible writer, and in his able and vigorous contributions to the *Lutherische Herold*, in defence of the Christian religion and its faithful confessors, provoked no less than in his public discourses the hostility of freethinkers and infidels who hated him most cordially. He was not unfrequently in danger of personal violence from such characters, and was once actually assaulted on the street. In his doctrinal views he was evangelical. He held with unflinching tenacity to the great doctrines of the Christian system. Christ was the centre of all his theology. The Augsburg Confession and the other Symbolical Books he unhesitatingly and cordially adopted, and yet he was liberally disposed towards those who, in their honest convictions, differed from him in his theological opinions, provided they held the truth in essentials. "He was," says Dr. Schmidt, "a firm defender of the doctrinal system of our Church. Yet, while he was a decided Lutheran, he had none of that narrow-mindedness which unchurches all who do not agree with us, and while he stoutly maintained the authority of our Symbolical Books, as the embodiment of the faith of the Church, he was utterly opposed to the spirit and policy which

would use our Book of Concord, as a club with which to knock others on the head. While it was to him a firm foundation to stand upon, and he would have it a bond of union for all good Lutheran Christians, he often spoke with great severity of the intolerance of those who would not own as Lutherans any who could not accept all *their* interpretations of our Confession, and all the practical uses, which *they* chose to make of them, and all the disciplinary measures for which they claimed to derive authority from them. In taking and maintaining this position he was always perfectly consistent with himself. There was nothing unsettled, or fluctuating, in his views, or nothing loose in his convictions. He was firm and immovable, whenever he had arrived at clear and settled convictions as regards doctrine, practice or discipline." At the meetings of his Conference, or Synod, his power was always felt. He was a tower of strength. His advice was valued, his counsels sought. In the discussion of exciting questions he was courteous, candid and just, never disposed to take advantage of his opponent, always ready to forgive an injury, the attainment of truth rather than victory seemed to be his object. He was a model of patience and forbearance, never exhibiting unkindness of feeling, never employing denunciatory language in reference to those who differed from him, and cheerfully conceding to others what he claimed for himself. His course was such as to inspire confidence and respect. At all times he earnestly labored to promote the peace of the Church.

Although Dr. Stohlman's health had been gradually declining, his death, when it occurred, was very unexpected. He died May 3d, 1868. It was on the Lord's Day. Only the Wednesday preceding, he was considered severely ill. A fortnight before his departure he preached his last sermon, and administered the Lord's Supper, in the old church edifice, which, for thirty years, had been the scene of his labors. At the conclusion of the services he occupied a position near the door, and took the members by the hand, bidding each one an affectionate adieu, and adding, "It is the last time we have communed together," meaning, of course, in the old church. Neither pastor nor people, however, anticipated that the pleasant and solemn relation which had so long existed, would so speedily terminate. But the very day, on which the recently purchased church was to be occupied by his con-

gregation, and the cherished wishes of his heart were to be realized, when the vast crowds were filling the large and beautiful building, he was in conflict with his last enemy, passing away from his earthly toils to his heavenly reward—the day of anticipated pleasure and delight became the occasion of the deepest gloom and sorrow. His mind was clear, and his confidence in Christ unshaken. He retained his consciousness till the last, and expressed his faith in the simple words, "Christ's blood and righteousness my beauty are, my glorious dress." Only four hours before his death he wrote several pages of manuscript containing advice to his family, to the congregation and the Conference, and urging all to be faithful to the Saviour; the substance of it was "Little children, love one another;" Love Jesus Christ above and beyond all things else." Dr. Krotel writes: "It was a sad day for the churches in New York, but still all rejoiced that a long, laborious and faithful life was closed so beautifully, and that the dying hours, as well as the life and teachings of the preacher had magnified Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day and forever." The funeral was attended by an immense concourse of persons. Thirty ministers of the Gospel, by their presence and their tears, manifested their profound grief in the loss they had sustained by the death of this good man. "It was," says Dr. Wedekind, "an impressive scene to see men and women, the aged and the young, the rich and the poor, bursting into loud sobs, as they passed the form, now cold and stiff in death, which they had known and loved so long and so well." The services on the occasion of the funeral were most solemn and impressive. They were conducted by Drs. Schmidt and Mann, and Rev. Messrs. Drees and Rügner. Dr. Mann delivered an eloquent discourse, full of sympathy and truth, from the words: "Whither I go ye know, and the way ye know."

Dr. Stohlman was married to Miss O. J. Brown, who, after a happy union of thirty-two years, now with her four daughters, one of them the widow of Rev. J. A. Bungereoth, survives to lament the sad bereavement.

LXXXI.

ABRAHAM RECK.

Abraham Reck was born January 2d, 1790. Almost

an octogenarian, he closed his serene and beautiful life, May 18th, 1869, an illustration of the truth of God's promise to the righteous: "With long life will I satisfy him, and show him my salvation. He shall flourish like the palm tree; he shall grow like the cedar in Lebanon. He shall still bring forth fruit in old age." From the time he surrendered his heart to the Lord, he could truly say: "My settled purpose is to devote my life to the service of God." His ministry he commenced in 1812, three years in advance of Dr. B. Kurtz,* and seven years earlier than Dr. C. P. Krauth,† with both of whom he was most closely united in bonds of fraternal sympathy. "There never lived," says Dr. Morris, "more earnest, sincere and successful laborers, and their praise is in all the churches." All three were commissioned by the Synod of Pennsylvania to preach the Gospel; all three were long associated together in the *Synod of Maryland and Virginia*, at a time too, when measures, the most important in their influence upon the Church, were adopted; and although their paths subsequently diverged and they labored in different Synods, their interest in Zion never faltered, their trust in God never wavered, and they died as they had lived, in the faith of the Lord Jesus Christ, and in the confident and peaceful hope of everlasting perfection and bliss through his merits. They now, all three, rest from their labors, and their works do follow them. When the venerable patriarch upon whose grave we would place a chaplet, though withered and tear-bedewed, then a young man not yet twenty-two years of age, entered upon his official work, there were not one hundred ministers connected with the Lutheran Church in this country; in the year of his death, there were more than nineteen hundred, the congregations had increased to four thousand, and the communicants to two hundred and fifty thousand. In the retrospect how his heart must have been filled with amazement and delight, and how gratefully must he have realized that "a little one" had "become a thousand and a small one a strong nation!"

*See sketch of Dr. Kurtz in the *Evangelical Quarterly Review*, Vol. XVIII, p. 25.

†See sketch of Dr. Krauth, in the *Evangelical Quarterly Review*, Vol. XIX p. 89.

Abraham Reck was the son of Abraham and Margaret Reck, and was born at Littlestown, Adams County, Pennsylvania, at that time included in York County. His ancestors were Germans, who immigrated to this country as early as 1727, from the Palatinate on the Rhine. His parents were respectable and pious people, Christians of the Arndt and Francke school, and as soon as they had secured a shelter for themselves, they, with others, united in the erection of a place of worship. From the atmosphere of piety which pervaded the home of his youth, Abraham inhaled the spirit, which animated his life to the hour of his death. Early instructed by Christian parents, he had in his childhood deep religious impressions, which were strengthened by the faithful preaching which he heard, and by the careful reading of God's word, but chiefly by the catechetical instructions of Rev. John Grubb, Pastor of the Lutheran Church at Taneytown, Maryland, "a truly converted man," as he says. When he was six years old he was sent to school, and so rapid was his progress, that in eight months he had learned fluently to read the Bible. At the age of fifteen, he renewed the baptismal vows, assumed for him in infancy by his parents, and was received into the Church by the rite of Confirmation, but he thinks at this time he had not experienced a change of heart. Nearly two years afterwards, a severe accident from a scythe confined him to his bed for four months, which proved, in his judgment, the greatest blessing of his life. He spent the time in reading the Scriptures and other good books, and in prayer. God was with him in his seclusion. He enjoyed the influences of the Holy Spirit, and was, in a remarkable degree, favored with the divine blessing. On his restoration, he went into a store, with the design of preparing himself for mercantile business. But his Pastor, from all that he had learned concerning him, supposing that he would be a proper subject for the Christian ministry, inquired of him one day, "Whether he did not wish to become a minister of the Gospel?" The very idea at first startled him—that he, so imperfect, should seek an office so high and holy—and his answer was, "Sooner any other than myself!" The faithful and judicious Pastor replied: "I like your humility; but go, and ask your God, and if he wants you, he will open a door for you." He obeyed the directions, and the way was soon prepared, every obstacle was removed and the

path of duty made clear. Stricken down with an attack of pleurisy, lying at the very gates of death, he learned more fully to know Christ and to have compassion for souls. His affliction was sanctified to him. He rose from his sick chamber a more devoted Christian. He abandoned his projects for the future, and at once commenced his studies with a view to the ministry, under the direction of that pious and learned divine, Rev. F. V. Melshheimers, for many years Pastor of the Lutheran Church at Hanover, who frequently instructed young men in their preparation for the sacred office. He was licensed to preach the Gospel by the Synod of Pennsylvania, at its session in Carlisle, Trinity Sunday, 1812, and recommended to visit the Valley of Virginia, especially Winchester, recently made vacant by the death of Rev. Christian Streit,* who had been settled there as Pastor for twenty-six years.

Having received and accepted a call, as Pastor of the Winchester charge, he entered upon his duties, January, 1813. His labors were not confined to the town, but extended to four different counties, and included nine congregations. He occupied this position for fifteen years. The period was an eventful one in his own life, and formed an epoch in the Lutheran Church in that section of the country. His labors were greatly blessed. Large numbers were added to his congregations. Revivals commenced in his catechetical classes, and an awakening of religious interest spread through all his congregations. He proclaimed in all its divine fulness and freeness, the way of salvation, and multitudes were brought to a saving acquaintance with Christ. His revival measures, however, encountered bitter opposition, and he was persecuted by the enemies of the truth. He was even threatened with personal violence, and in a neighboring village an attempt was actually made to murder him, but he was fearless in the discharge of duty, and the feeling against him softened, and the opposition gradually subsided. During all this time, says Dr. Morris, "No one ever dared to breathe the slightest suspicion against his eminently upright conduct and unsullied character." On one occasion there was a party in the charge, very much opposed to him, and desirous of his removal. They hired a law-

*See sketch of Rev. Christian Streit in the *Evangelical Review*, Vol. IX, p. 378.

year to go to the Synod and accuse him of irregularities. When on the floor of Synod the lawyer rose to speak, Mr. Reck objected to the proceedings as unconstitutional, alleging that the lawyer was not even a member of the Church, and the arraigned had not been notified of the charges—but he was permitted to proceed and to read to the Synod many pages of manuscript, the substance of which was that the accused had departed from the old landmarks, the good old way, and had become a Methodist fanatic. "The sainted Dr. Lochman, of Harrisburg," says Mr. Reck, "volunteered to defend my cause, and did it most manfully, justifying me wholly. Then Dr. B. Kurtz, the young Pastor of Hagerstown, rose and clinched the nail, that had been driven—and the work of the Lord still prospered." Some who were arrayed against him, subsequently became his most devoted friends. Whilst Pastor of this charge, his labors were very arduous and exhausting. Animated with an earnest missionary spirit, he made great sacrifices for the cause of Christ, and the self-denial which he practiced in the performance of his official duties, the long rides and frequent exposures to heat and cold, his intense sufferings, all this time, from pain in the chest and throat, seem scarcely credible. He did a vast amount of itinerant work in the earlier part of his ministry. In referring to these labors in a communication before us, he says: "I had a congregation in Hampshire county, thirty miles distant from my home, and had to cross a mountain, eleven miles. The roads were desperate, a part of the way was crossed with sharp-pointed stones fast in the beds of the rock, so that the poor horse could hardly venture to place his feet down. I was obliged to leave home at three or four o'clock in the short winter days, to reach the place in time. I then preached German and English, and afterwards catechised a class. I reached the first habitation on my return, at ten o'clock, sometimes literally frozen stiff, so that they were compelled to lift me from my horse, unbutton my coat and thaw me before a good fire." During his connection with the Winchester charge he was sometimes appointed by Synod to visit destitute portions of the Church, and he exposed himself to perils of various kinds, to gather our scattered members into congregations, to preach the gospel and administer the sacraments. On one of these missionary tours, his report states that he had travelled on horseback one thousand

and six miles, and preached eighty-five sermons, in court-houses and in private houses, wherever he could secure an audience, and there was a prospect of doing good. The Synod, in connection with his report, speaks of him as a "zealous, laborious and deeply pious minister." He usually made quite an impression, when he preached. The people heard him gladly; they were deeply affected, and sometimes from a single sermon there were the most marvelous results. In one neighborhood, where, as a visitor, he filled the pulpit, there was a thorough reformation in the place, and the commencement of a new spiritual life among the people. "Young Reck," said one who felt no interest in the subject of religion, "has turned the whole neighborhood into fools, for they wont dance and frolic any more, but all go to prayer-meetings." Notwithstanding his success in the ministry, the subject of our narrative was often discouraged. He passed through some severe trials, and, sometimes, when suffering from bodily affliction, was strongly tempted to resign his office and turn his attention to secular pursuits. The sense of his personal unworthiness was often overpowering. On one of these occasions, when much depressed in spirit, he consulted his old Pastor, Mr. Grubb, on the subject, who, in his quaint, yet still tender, manner said: "All this is from the devil; he sees that God intends you for some good work, and, therefore, he tries to get you out of the way." Mr. Reck's name is still mentioned with veneration in the field which first engaged his attention. "In our first ministry in Winchester, Virginia," says Dr. Stork, "we heard so much of this good man from the people to whom he had ministered—the testimony of many whom he had led to Jesus, and of many whom he had comforted in affliction—that he was enshrined in our affectionate remembrance." Rev. T. W. Dosh writes: "He was esteemed, a man of devoted piety, zealous in every good work, and his memory is still cherished with gratitude."

In 1828, after several successive annual calls, he took charge of congregations in Middletown, Maryland, and the vicinity. Here he exhibited the same unwearied zeal and conscientious devotion to his pastoral duties. He found the spiritual condition of things very discouraging, but in his first class of catechumens, upwards of sixty experienced a change in their religious life. "The work of the Lord," he says, "spread through my entire charge of

nine congregations, and multitudes of the young, as well as the old, dead formalists, professed conversion, and thus were my church members multiplied, and greatly edified." During a ministry of nine years in this region, more than fifteen hundred persons expressed a hope in Christ. His labors were regarded as eminently successful. His influence was felt by all classes; even upon children the most wonderful impressions were made. "He was," says Dr. Bittle, who at this period, knew him intimately, "a live man in the ministry, in the pulpit and out of it. He preached, and when he delivered his sermons they made impressions, he catechised, established Sabbath Schools, Temperance Societies, visited families and individuals, and talked to them directly and kindly in regard to their personal salvation. What a man of God he was! He prayed much, and was always ready, in season and out of season, to give an account of the hope that was in him in meekness and fear."

In the spring of 1836, in opposition to the wishes of his congregations, he was induced to remove to Indianapolis, and to look after our Lutheran interests in the West. Here he purchased property, and at once commenced his missionary work in great earnestness, but various misfortunes befell him, his health failed, he was deceived by false friends, his family suffered from sickness, his funds were exhausted, yet he felt that he was not forsaken by God, or sympathizing friends. He toiled on, preaching and catechising, and gathering into congregations our scattered members. He established nine Lutheran Churches, some of them twenty and thirty miles from the capital. Notwithstanding the difficulties with which he had to contend, he remained here six years. But the severity of the climate at last rendered a change necessary.

The next field of labor, which he occupied, was Cincinnati, Ohio, whither he removed in 1841. He here organized an English Lutheran Church, but in his efforts he met with unparalleled difficulties. At first, he tells us, "he preached in a little open rickety place, over an engine shanty, the stairs outside and dangerous." Subsequently the feeble band "rented the old college." Although he was obliged to submit to great privations—his family being often destitute of the necessary comforts of life—his labors were very much blessed. An intelligent Roman

Catholic was brought under the influence of divine truth, and in the presence of the congregation openly renounced Romanism. She was re-confirmed, and, at the same time, presented her only child for baptism in the Church. Mr. Reck enjoyed the confidence of other Christian denominations. Dr. Beecher and Prof. Stowe were his warm friends. His tireless energy and blameless life impressed all who witnessed his efforts. He labored here for four years.

In 1845 he pitched his tent in Germantown, Ohio, where many of his old Maryland parishoners lived. Here he organized two new churches, and although he remained only three years, his labors were successful. Whilst engaged in this place, he had a controversy with a layman, calling himself a Lutheran, who was a Universalist. Mr. Reck triumphantly proved from the Augsburg Confession, that no man maintaining that doctrine had a right to the name *Lutheran*, and effectually silenced his opponent.

We meet with the subject of our sketch next at Tarleton, Ohio, where his labors were attended with the divine blessing. The Spirit's quickening and renewing influences were richly enjoyed. But he encountered opposition from those, too, who were pledged to sustain him. He suffered, also, in health from ulcerated sore throat of an aggravated type. He supposed, in direct answer to prayer, he was relieved from this severe and dangerous affection.

In 1852, his health being somewhat precarious, he removed to Lancaster, Ohio, but he preached, whenever his physical ability was adequate to the effort. He received frequent calls to vacant charges, but they were either too large for his impaired health, or too small for the support of his family. He led a life of quiet retirement, seeking to do good as opportunity occurred and he was able, patiently waiting for the coming of his Lord. The last communication we had from him, was written, November 22d, 1867, in which he says: "I am now seventy-seven years old, and look for my release from this body of sin and pain, to be taken to our Heavenly Father's house above, by infinite riches of Divine grace. There I hope to meet the blood-washed hosts, that Christ gathered through all past ages, and I will look for *you*, dear brother in Christ."

The closing scenes of his life, so wholly consecrated to God, were tranquil and happy. "It was a privilege," it is said

"to hear the heavenly counsels which fell from his lips." He was rational until the last, his memory retentive, his eye bright, his hand steady, and his faith growing. He gave the most minute directions in regard to his funeral, expressing a desire, that his lifeless body should be clad in pure white, and not in black; and selecting as a text for the occasion the words of the Psalmist: "The days of our years are three score years and ten; and if by reason of strength they be four-score years, yet is there strength, labor and sorrow; for it is soon cut off, and we fly away." Five minutes before he ceased to breathe, he bade adieu to his family, and then was added to the number of the redeemed, one who was wise in winning souls to Christ, and whose reward was sure. He rested from his long and faithful labors. His remains were borne to the grave by the ministers of the place, at their own request, and deposited in the "Luther Cemetery," at Lancaster, Ohio, May 20th, 1869. The sermon was preached by Rev. J. O. Hough, whilst Rev. Messrs. Mechling and Spielman, of the Lutheran Church, and the Rev. Messrs. Scott, Snodgrass, and Spahr representing the Episcopal, Presbyterian and Methodist Churches, participated in the services.

Mr. Reck was one of the chosen instruments of divine power for doing a great work for the Church to which his services were given. Dr. Morris says: "He was a model man." "I never knew," he adds, "one who seemed to be more deeply imbued with the spirit of Christ. He never had an enemy who was a true Christian. His bitterest opponents were compelled to acknowledge the unsullied purity of his life, and the most established believer could learn profitable lessons from his conversation, or his example. He was fearless in the defence of the truth, and uncompromising in his opposition to wrong of every kind. He despised chicanery and meanness. Strongly attached to his own Church, an enthusiastic admirer of Luther, yet he had a most catholic spirit, and loved every body who loved Christ." His piety was scriptural, intelligent, steadfast and reliable, not superficial, sickly and fluctuating. His zeal was such as no discouragement could repress, and no failure abate. His highest element of success was his Christian consistency, the purity and sanctity of a heavenly life. Dr. Morris refers to his "intense and protracted attacks of disease during every period of his life, and most wonderful restorations; fearful accidents and re-

markable deliverances; domestic afflictions and yet uncomplaining submission; diabolical opposition, and yet most signal triumphs over his enemies; seasons of the saddest depression, and yet cheerful confidence in God; pinching poverty, and yet trust in Him who sent the ravens to feed the famishing prophet; alienation of former friends, and yet joyful attachment to Him, who sticketh closer than a brother, never despairing, ever hoping, because always praying." He may have had his imperfections and short-comings, but he never defended them.

He was the ideal of a good Pastor, holy, harmless, separate from sinners, as nearly assimilated to his divine Master as poor, fallen human nature often reaches, blending active usefulness with unfeigned humility and Christian gentleness. His large sympathies were freely bestowed in every effort to spread the Gospel. He was most efficient in his work. He lived and labored for the promotion of pure revivals of religion, but he did not favor fanaticism or extravagant measures. His personal interviews with religious inquirers were judicious and impressive. He thoroughly instructed his members in the faith of the Church. "My ministerial experience," he says, "led me to appreciate the great wisdom of Dr. Martin Luther in giving us his *Smaller Catechism* as one of the most successful methods, in judicious and pious hands, of indoctrinating and properly preparing candidates for membership in our good old Evangelical Lutheran Reformation Church. Thereby God gave me the first Bible Revivals in the last century. I recommend the proper use of the Catechism to all the younger brethren in our Church, and recommend them not to lay it aside, as some have done." The fruits of these revivals were seen in the faithful, consistent character of his members, some of whom were introduced by him into the ministry. Of these the names of J. B. Reck, G. W. Keil, E. Keller, D. D., D. F. Bittle, D. D., H. Settemyer, J. Gaver and E. B. Olmstead, now occur to us. He was very much interested in Beneficiary Education, long before there were any organized societies for the purpose in our Church. In aiding several pious and talented young men for the work he expended upwards of three thousand dollars from his private resources during his ministry. When he was at Winchester, he himself paid one hundred dollars to secure the release of an apprentice whom he thought God had called to preach the Gospel.

He prepared him for the work, taking him to his own home, and, for several years until he was licensed, paying his expenses for books and clothing. "He was," says Dr. Bittle, "a most zealous and good man, far in advance in his ideas of the wants, condition and responsibility of the Lutheran Church to many of his times. He always urged upon his catechetical classes and the young men of his congregation to consider their duty in reference to preparation for the ministry."

Mr. Reck was not learned, but he was a man of ripe experience, large observation, and extensive influence, a plain, earnest, practical preacher. His success was marked, decisive and permanent in results. In the pulpit he was faithful. He preached the simple truths of the cross. His exhibitions of the gospel were sound, solemn, tender and impressive. The secret of his incessant labors was in his own experimental consciousness, a personal trial of the plan of redeeming grace. "When a boy," writes Rev. H. Bishop, "I heard this father preach in the Valley of Virginia, and though many years have passed, I well remember with what pathos this servant of the Master delivered the messages of the truth. He had a kind, tender heart, and manifested more than ordinary feeling when preaching. He was never long without the consciousness that his ministry was owned and blessed of God." Dr. Schmucker speaks of him as "a beloved brother who was characterized by unusual simplicity, and self denial, who was the means under God of the earliest revivals in our Church in this country during the last half century, and whose ministry was, for a long series of years, attended by unusual success in the conversion of sinners." "He was," says Dr. Stork, "an earnest, faithful preacher of the gospel, and a most kindly sympathetic Pastor. There was such an unaffected simplicity in his manners, such heartiness in his friendship, such purity of life and Christian consecration and such a life-long devotion to the work of the Master, that his memory is redolent of the grace of God in all the churches." He was repeatedly invited to prominent points in the Church. Chambersburg, Gettysburg, Lancaster, Charleston, all desired to secure his services, but as he was useful in the position in which he was at the time laboring, he did not wish to make a change. Such a man will ever be in demand, and wherever, in the Providence of God, he is called to minister to the spiritual

wants of the people, he will be successful in the great work to which his life was consecrated.

Mr. Reck was united in marriage in 1820 to Miss Louisa Motter, of Shepherdstown, Virginia. From this union there were eleven children, eight of whom with their mother are still living.

ARTICLE III.

LUTHER AT THE DIET OF WORMS. TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL NARRATIVE CONTAINED IN THE SECOND VOLUME OF LUTHER'S WORKS, PUBLISHED AT JENA, IN 1557.*

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The importance of the Diet of Worms in the history of Protestantism is generally acknowledged. Rome here endeavored to bring the whole power of the German Empire to bear upon the growing Reformation, and not only to arrest it, but to crush it forever out of existence. The Emperor Charles V. was now just entering upon his public career. He was young, ambitious, and powerful, and Roman policy was determined, if possible, to bend him to its purposes. Francis I, of France, was his rival, had disputed with him the crown of Germany, and was now more eager than ever to snatch from him the dominion of Italy. Pope Leo X. was a very astute politician. In order to carry his purposes and secure the destruction of Luther, he determined to play off the King of France against the Emperor of Germany. He is said to have been negotiating treaties with both of them at the same time—with Francis for dividing with him the possessions of Charles in Naples and the adjoining territory, and with Charles for the expulsion of the French from Milan the possession of Parma and Piacenza which Francis then held.

* *Tomus Secundus omnium operum Reverendi Patris, viri Dei. D. Mart. Luth. quae edidit etc. Jhenae, Excudebat Christianus Rhodius. 1557.*

There is nothing incredible in this, for it is said to have been one of his maxims, that "when one had concluded terms with either party, he must not omit to treat with the other."* But finally Leo concluded to league with Charles for the reconquest of Milan, and it is a very significant fact that the very day on which this alliance was made, has been assigned as the date of the edict (May 26th, 1521) against Luther and his adherents.

But it was a long time before his conclusion was reached. The Diet, originally appointed at Nürnberg for the beginning of January, could not be held there on account of the breaking out of the plague in that place, and was transferred to Worms, where it was opened by the Emperor in person on the 28th of January 1521. The great object of Charles in this Diet was to consolidate his power, to secure the confidence of his German subjects and obtain their united support against his great rival Francis I., of France. The talk about a war with the Turks, was only a cover for other plans. But the German Princes and cities (then a great power in German politics) wanted relief from burdensome taxation, from whatever quarter it might come, whether from the Empire or the Church. With this view they presented their celebrated "*Hundred Grievances*"†—a list of one hundred and one abuses, of which they demanded the correction. But the Pope, represented by his Nuncios, Alexander and Caracciolo regarded the condemnation of Luther, and his being placed under the ban of the Empire, as the great point for which he was to labor. But the German Princes, even those who had no great sympathy with Luther, revolted at the idea of condemning him without a hearing. Charles was therefore compelled to concede this, and called upon the Elector of Saxony, in whose dominions he was residing, to have him brought to Worms. Frederick the Wise, to whom, more than to any one else, Charles was indebted for his imperial crown, declined to do this, unless the Emperor would give him his own Imperial safe conduct, and that of the Empire, that is to say, the Emperor's word of honor and an official declaration by him on behalf of the Empire, that Luther should suffer no injury, either

*Suriano, *Relatione* de 1533, as quoted by Ranke in his "*History of the Popes*," p. 30 Am. Ed. 1845.

† "*Centum Gravamina*."

on his way to the Diet, during his attendance upon its sessions, or upon his return thence to the place of his abode. To this Charles was compelled to assent, though reluctantly, and against the strongest remonstrances of the Papal Nuncio. We have the result, as far as Luther is concerned, in the following narrative, which seems to have been drawn up by Nicholas von Amsdorff, who accompanied Luther to Worms, published soon after his return to Wittenberg, and subsequently incorporated into the great folio edition of Luther's Latin works, which von Amsdorff commenced to publish at Jena, soon after Luther's death. (His Preface bears the date of January 1st, 1556.) It is, therefore, a contemporary account, by an eye-witness, of that most interesting assemblage, the Diet of Worms of 1521, and of Luther's sayings and doings, both inside and outside of the Diet, during the ten days of his sojourn in Worms.

My main object, however, in making this translation, was to give a full report of Luther's celebrated speech before the Diet, of which I know not that there is elsewhere any English version. Even D'Aubigne's version of this speech covering several pages of his History of the Reformation,* and first translated from German into French and then from French into English, has sundry serious gaps in it. By the notes appended I have endeavored to illustrate both the text itself, and various historical circumstances which seemed to need elucidation. Tr.

THE LETTER OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V. TO DOCTOR
MARTIN LUTHER, WHEREBY HE WAS CALLED TO THE
DIET AT WORMS

Charles, by the grace of God, Emperort of the Romans, perpetual Augustus,† etc., to our honorable, beloved and devoted Martin Luther, of the Augustinian order:

Honorable, Beloved and Pious: Inasmuch as WE and

*Vol. II, p. 261 to 264 of American Tract Society's Edition.

†D'Aubigne (Hist. Ref. 2, p 224 Am. Ed.) has it "Emperor elect," which is not in our text. Charles V. was elected Emperor of Germany in 1519, and crowned at Aix la Chapelle before the Diet of Worms.

‡D'Aubigne (*ubi supra*) has "*always august*," which is probably a slip of his English translator.

the Estates of the Holy Empire now here assembled have proposed and determined to examine you in reference to the doctrine and the books, sometime since published by you, we have given you for your coming hither, and for your departure hence, for your safe protection, our own, and the Empire's free and direct security and safe conduct,* which we herewith send you.

It is our desire that you immediately enter upon your journey, so that you may, without fail, be with us within the twenty-one days specified in this our safe conduct, and not remain at home, nor fear any violence or injury. For it is our will, in our aforesaid safe conduct, firmly to defend you, and we are assured that you will come. By so doing you will fulfil our strict intentions. Given at Worms, on the 6th day of March, A. D. 1521, and of our reign [the second."]†

THE ACTS OF THE REVEREND FATHER DR. MARTIN LUTHER AUGUSTINIAN, BEFORE HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY, THE ELECTORAL PRINCES, AND THE ESTATES OF THE EMPIRE IN THE DIET OF THE PRINCES AT WORMS.

In the year of our salvation 1521, on the third day after the Sunday of *Misericordia Domini*,‡ Doctor Martin Luther, of the Order of Augustinians entered Worms,§ being called,

*In the margin of the Jena folio edition of Luther's Works, it reads: "*Salvus conductus imperatoris pro D. M. L.*" "The Emperor's safe conduct for Dr. M. L.," as though this were the safe conduct itself; but from what follows we learn that this was only the letter to Luther, enclosing the safe conduct. D'Aubigne (*ubi sup.* note to p. 225,) says that a copy of the safe conduct itself is found in "*Lucas Cranach's Stammbach*, etc." to which I have not access. He quotes its address, which is the same as that of the letter in our text, and also its opening words, which give the Emperor's titles in detail, but none of its material contents.

†I take the words in brackets from D'Aubigne, who also adds this: "By order of My Lord, the Emperor, witness my hand, Albert, Cardinal of Mentz, High Chancellor, Nicholas Zwil."

‡The dates, are, of course, according to Old Style. The Sunday, "*Misericordia Domini*," is, according to the English calendar, the second Sunday after Easter, which would place Luther's arrival in Worms on Tuesday, April 16th, 1521.

§Worms is situated on the left bank of the Rhine, twenty-six miles

thither by the Emperor Charles, of that name the V., King of Spain, Archduke of Austria, &c., who, in the first year of his reign, held the first Electoral Diet in that Imperial City.

And whereas, three years before, Dr. Martin had set forth certain Paradoxes* as subjects for discussion, at Wittenberg, in Saxony, in opposition to the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, (which propositions had, meanwhile, been in various ways attacked, condemned and burnt by the Papal party, but yet refuted by no one, either by Scripture or by sound reasons)—the matter began to create disturbance, the common people defending the cause of the Gospel against the clergy. On this account it was determined, at the instigation of the Roman legates† to send for Luther himself,—an imperial herald, and letters of safe conduct being given for this purpose by the Emperor and Princes of the Empire. He is cited, comes, and lodges in the hostelry of the Cross-bearing Soldiers, or as they are generally called, the Knights of the Teutonic Order.‡ Received as their guest, many Counts, Barons, Knights of the Golden Fleece, nobles, clergyman and laymen continued to call upon him and pay their respects, until late at night.

But his arrival was contrary to the expectation of many, both adversaries and others, for although he had been cited by an Imperial messenger and by letters, pledging to him the public faith, yet inasmuch as, a few days before his arrival, his books had been condemned by placards openly posted, and by public authority,§ no one thought that he would come after having thus been prejudged. And when his friends|| held a deliberation in the neighboring city of

South of Mentz. It was anciently one of the residences of the Frankish sovereigns. The site of the Council Hall, in which the Diet before which Luther appeared was held, is now occupied by a Lutheran Church.

*“Paradoxes” are propositions opposed to commonly received opinions. The reference is evidently to Luther’s “Ninety-five Theses,” and similar discussions.

†Caraccioli and Aleander.

‡D’Aubigne’s translator, p. 248, calls it “the hotel of the Knights of Rhodes.”

§An imperial edict.

||The margin of the original has this curious remark, “Bucer meets

Oppenheim, where Luther first heard of these things, and most of them advised that he should not expose himself to danger, seeing that these beginnings were contrary to the faith that had been given him, after he had listened to every thing, he replied with great courage: "Having been called, I have determined, and my resolution is unalterable, to enter the city in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, even though I knew there were as many devils opposed to me as there are tiles upon the roofs of the whole city."* On the second day after his arrival, (Wednesday) Ulrich von Pappenheim, a nobleman, Imperial Master of Horse, being sent by the Emperor came before dinner, conveying to Doctor Martin the Emperor's mandate, that at four o'clock in the afternoon, he should appear before His Imperial Majesty, the Princes, Electors, Dukes and other Orders of the Empire, to hear the grounds of his citation; which Doctor Martin received as he was bound to do. So immediately after the striking of the fourth hour of that day, came Lord Ulrich von Pappenheim and Caspar Sturm, the Imperial herald in Germany (by whom Dr. Martin had been cited from Wittenberg, and who had also attended him to Worms) These gentlemen escorted him through the garden of the Teutonic hostelry into the lodging place of the Count Palatine. That he might not be inconvenienced by the crowd which was great on the direct way to the Imperial residence, he was conveyed to the audience hall† along certain secret stairways. But many still recognized him, were with difficulty prevented by force from entering the hall of the Diet along with him. A great number also, in their desire of seeing Luther, mounted upon the tops of the shops. When now he stood in the presence of His Imperial Majesty, and the Princes, Electors, and Dukes, in short, of all the Orders of the Empire, who were then with the Emperor, Dr. Martin was first admonished by Ulrich von Pappenheim, that he should not speak until he was called upon to do so. Then the Chancellor‡ of His Imperial Majesty, John von Eck,§

him in the city of Oppenheim, dissuading him from entering the city, suborned thereto by the Archbishop (Albert) of Mentz."

*The Latin text reads "orbis," evidently a misprint for "urbis."

†The latter is "*adjutorium*," which is no doubt a misprint for "*auditorium*."

‡The Latin term is "*Orator*"—spokesman.

§Not Luther's famous adversary of the same name.

Official General of the Bishop of Treves,* by the command of His Imperial Majesty, speaking in a clear and loud voice, first in Latin and then in German, set forth these ideas, in the manner following, or to that effect: "Martin Luther, His sacred and invincible Majesty, by the advice of all the Orders of the holy Roman Empire, has commanded you to be called hither to the throne of his Majesty, that he might question you upon these two points: First, Do you acknowledge that these books here present, (pointing to a pile† of his books, written in Latin and in German,) which are circulated under your name as their author, are yours, and do you acknowledge them as yours or not? Secondly, Will you retract and revoke them and their contents, or will you rather adhere to and persevere in the same?"

Here, before Luther could reply, Mr. Jerome Schurff,‡ who stood by Luther's side as his adviser, exclaimed: "Let the titles of the books be read." Whereupon the official of Treves read the names of those books of Doctor Martin which were printed at Basle, among which were enumerated his "*Commentaries upon the Psalter*,"§ the "Tract upon Good Works,"|| his "Commentary upon the Lords' Prayer," and also some other Christian tracts, not of a controversial character.¶

After these things, and in reply thereto, Dr. Martin thus answered, first in Latin and then in German:

"Two questions are proposed to me by His Imperial Majesty. First, whether I am willing to acknowledge all the books bearing my name as mine? Secondly, whether I will defend them or retract any of those things which

*Richard von Greiffenklau.

†It is said that there were some twenty volumes or tracts in the pile, and that they were collected by Alexander's industry. D'Aubigne II., 293.

‡Schurff was a distinguished lawyer of Wittenberg, and had accompanied Luther from that place.

§Luther's "Operationes in XXII. Psalmos Priores" is probably the work here referred to. These were lectures delivered to the theological students at Wittenberg, and first published in 1519.

||"Libellus de bonis operibus."

¶Luther's "*De Captivitate Babylonica Ecclesie*" appeared in 1520, was very offensive to the Romanists, and, doubtless, among those here brought forward for condemnation.

have heretofore been written and published by me? To which I shall reply as briefly and correctly as may be in my power.

"First, I cannot but acknowledge the books just named as mine, nor will I ever deny any of them. But as to what follows, viz: That I should state whether I will defend them all alike or revoke anything? Inasmuch as this is a question touching faith, and the salvation of souls, and as it concerns the divine word, than which nothing is greater, whether in heaven or upon earth, and which we are all justly bound to revere, it would be rash and perilous for me to advance anything thoughtlessly. Without premeditation I might assert something less than the thing demands, or more than the truth admits, either of which things would expose me to that censure of Christ, when He says, "*Whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father who is in Heaven.*"* I therefore, for this reason, and most earnestly ask of His Imperial Majesty time for deliberation, in order that I may answer this question without any prejudice to the divine word, or peril to my own soul."

Thereupon there was a deliberation of the Princes, the result of which was thus given by the official of Treves: "Martin Luther, although you might already sufficiently understand, from the Imperial mandate, the design of your citation, and do not for that reason deserve any longer delay for reflection, yet, out of the clemency natural to him, His Imperial Majesty will grant you the indulgence of one day for your meditation, so that you appear before him to-morrow at the same hour; upon this condition, however, that you are not to set forth your sentiments in writing, but express them in spoken words."

After this Doctor Martin was reconducted by the herald to his hostel. In regard to which matter we must not omit to state, that both whilst Luther was going to hear the Emperor's orders, and also when he was actually in the assembly of the Princes, he was exhorted by different persons to be courageous, to quit himself like a man, "*not to fear those who could only kill the body, but had no power to kill soul, but rather to fear Him who would destroy both soul and body in hell.*" Likewise, "*When ye shall stand be-*

*Mat. 9; 33.

*fore kings take no thought how or what ye shall speak, for it shall be given you in that same hour."**

On the following Friday, after four in the afternoon, came the herald to convey Dr. Martin to the Emperor's court, where on account of the engagement of the Princes, he remained until six o'clock, waiting amid a crowd of men who jostled each other an account of their numbers. When the Diet had once more come into session, &c., Dr. Martin stood before them; the official addressed him as follows:

"Martin Luther! His Imperial Majesty yesterday assigned this hour for your hearing, inasmuch as you openly acknowledge the books which we enumerated to you to be yours; but for the question, whether you would recall any of those statements, or defend all of them? you asked time for deliberation, which is now ended. You had, indeed, no right to a longer space for reflection, as you have so long known for what you were called hither. Moreover a matter of faith ought to be so certain to all, that each one, whenever called upon, could give a certain and consistent account of the same—much more you, a Professor of Theology, so distinguished and so well practiced. But now, at length, come and reply to the question of His Majesty, whose kindness you have experienced in the time that he has granted you for reflection. Will you defend all the books which you acknowledge as yours? Or, will you retract anything?" The official said these things, first in Latin, and then in German.

Doctor Martin also answered in Latin and in German, but humbly, not clamorously, modestly, yet not without Christian courage and firmness, and in such a way that his adversaries wished that both his language and his spirit had been more abject. Still more anxiously did they desire a recantation, of which they had conceived some hope from his demand for time to deliberate. But he replied thus:

"Most serene Lord and Emperor, most illustrious Princes, and most gracious Lords: I appear in obedience to your commands at the time prescribed to me yesterday evening, praying you, by the mercy of God, your most sincere Majesty, and your most illustrious Lordships would deign graciously to hear (as I hope you will do)

*Mat. 10; 18-20. The citations are from the Latin Vulgate.

this cause of truth and justice. And if, in my ignorance, I shall fail to give to any one his proper titles, or offend in any way against court etiquette and language, I pray you graciously to pardon me, as I am a man accustomed not to courts but to the corners of a monastery, and who can testify nothing else concerning myself than that I have hitherto taught and written with simplicity of mind, as to have only in view the glory of God and the sincere edification of Christ's faithful people.

"Most serene Emperor, and most illustrious Princes, in regard to those two articles proposed to me yesterday by your most serene Majesty, namely: Whether I recognize as mine the books enumerated and published under my name? And whether I would persevere in defending these or retract them? To the former article I gave a plain and prompt reply, in which I still persist, and will do so forever, namely: That those books are mine and published by me, in my own name, unless, perchance, anything has been changed in them, either by the craft of enemies, or by an overweening wisdom either adding to, or subtracting from them. I do not acknowledge anything which is not wholly my own work and written by me alone without any other man's officious interpretation.

"But in answering to the second point I beg your most serene Majesty and your Lordships that my books are not all of the same kind. There are some of them in which I have so simply and evangelically discussed piety in faith and morals, that even my adversaries are compelled to confess that they are useful, innocent, and altogether worthy to be read by Christians. Yea, even the Papal bull, fierce and cruel as it is, declares some of my books harmless, although, by a monstrous decision, it condemns even these. If, therefore, I should begin to retract these, what, I pray you, should I do, except that I alone of all men should condemn that truth which friends and foes alike confess—I alone opposing that concordant confession of all men?

"There is another class of my books which assails the Papacy and the doctrine of Papists—those namely, who alike by their most wretched doctrines and examples have devastated the Christian world by evils inflicted upon both soul and body. For neither can any one deny or dissemble, seeing it is testified to by the adherence and complaints of all, that by the laws of the Pope and the doc-

trines of men, the consciences of the faithful are most miserably ensnared, and vexed, and tortured, whilst their property and substance, especially in this renowned nation of Germany, are devoured by an amazing tyranny—yea, even now devoured without end, and in the most shameful manner. And yet even they themselves in their own laws, (as in Dist. 9 and 25, 21 and 22,*) provide that the laws and doctrines of the Pope contrary to the gospel, or to the opinions of the Fathers, shall be regarded as erroneous, and reprobated.†

“If, therefore, I were to revoke these books, I should do nothing else than strengthen tyranny, and open not merely the windows but the doors,† but so great an impiety would then extend its ravages more widely and more unrestrainedly than it has ever hitherto dared to do. Aided by the testimony of this my retraction, their iniquitous dominion will become most licentious and unchecked, and more intolerable than ever to the poor people, and at the same time strengthened and established, especially if they shall be able to boast, that this was done by me under the authority of your most serene Majesty, and of the whole Roman Empire. Good God! what a covering shall I thus have become for tyranny and wickedness.

“A third class of my books is composed of such as I have written against some private persons and individuals, those, namely, who have endeavored to defend Romish tyranny, and to weaken the piety which I have taught. Against these I confess that I have been more severe than was becoming either to religion or my profession. But I do not pretend to be a saint, nor to discuss my own life, but only the doctrines of Christ. Yet it would not be right for me to retract even these, inasmuch as the result would be, that after such a retraction, tyranny and impiety would be strengthened by my assistance, and rage more violently against the people of God than they ever did before.

“Yet inasmuch as I am a man, and not God, I cannot defend my books in any other way than my Lord Jesus Christ defended his doctrines. When He was asked before Annas concerning his doctrine, and received a blow from

*The reference is to the Canon laws.

†“Valvas”—the folding doors.

the servant*, He said, "*If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil.*"† If the Lord himself, who knew that He could not err, did not refuse to bear testimony against His doctrine, even from the vilest of slaves, how much more ought I, the dregs of the earth, who can do nothing but err, expect it and desire it, if any one wishes to bear testimony against my doctrine?

"I therefore beg by the mercy of God, that your most serene Majesty, your most illustrious Lordships, or whoever it may be, whether the highest or the lowest, would give such testimony, convict my errors, and correct me by the prophetic and evangelical Scriptures. I shall be most ready, if better instructed, to retract any error whatever, and will then be the first to throw my books into the fire.

"I think that it is thus apparent, that I have duly considered and pondered the dangers and perils, the dissensions and violence excited, in consequence of my doctrine throughout the world, and of which I was yesterday so gravely and strongly admonished. To me, in such matters, the most cheering of all indications is to see contests and violence arise on account of God's word. For that is the course, the fortune and the issue of the word of God; for He says, "*I am not come to send peace, but a sword. For I am come to divide the father against the son and the son against the father.*"‡

We must therefore remember that our God is wonderful and terrible in His counsels, lest, perchance, that which is undertaken with so great zeal, if we begin by condemning the word of God, may afterwards turn into an overwhelming flood of misfortunes. Let us beware lest the reign of this most excellent and youthful§ Prince Charles, (in whom next to God our hope is greatest) thus become ill-omened and unfortunate.

"I might illustrate this subject more fully by scriptural examples such as Pharaoh, the King of Babylon, and the Kings of Israel, who then most completely destroyed themselves, when they aimed at pacifying and establishing their kingdoms by the wisest counsels. For it is He

*St. John 18 ; 22.

†Ibid V., 23.

‡St. Luke 12 ; 53.

§Charles V., born in 1501, was now in his twenty-first year.

who "taketh the wise in their own craftiness,"* and "overturneth the mountains, before they are aware of it."† It is therefore necessary, for us to fear God. I do not say these things as though such lofty personages as those, before whom I speak, had much either of my learning or of my admonitions, but because it ill becomes me to withhold my services from my beloved Germany.‡ And, with these things, I commend myself to your most serene Majesty and your most illustrious Lordships, humbly beseeching that they would not allow the violence of my enemies to render me odious to them without cause. I have done."

To this speech the Imperial orator replied in a threatening style, that he had not answered to the point, and that matters which had long since been condemned and decided by councils ought not to be brought in question again. Therefore, a simple and unsophisticated§ answer was demanded from him—would he, or would he not, retract?

To which Luther replied: "Since, then, your most serene Majesty and your Lordships demand a simple answer, I will give it, without either horns or teeth,|| in this manner: Unless I shall have been convinced by evidence derived from the Scriptures, or overpowered by clear reasons in the passages of Scripture adduced by me, (for I do not trust either to Pope or Councils alone, since it is evident that they have often erred and contradicted themselves,) and unless my conscience is taken captive by the word of God, I neither can, nor will retract anything, inasmuch as it is neither safe nor honest to do anything contrary to conscience. Here I stand; I cannot do otherwise; God be my help. Amen."¶

This speech thus delivered by Doctor Martin, the Princess proceeded to consider. After it had been examined, the Official of Treves began to tear it in pieces in this style:

*Job 5; 13.

†Job 9, 5. The English version has it, "Which removeth the mountains and they know it."

‡"Meæ"—my own Germany?"

§The original is "*cornutum*"—"horned, referring to the logical dilemma, which is spoken of as having two horns.

||*Neque cornutum, neque dentatum.*"

¶"Hier stehe ich; ich kan nicht anders; Gott helfe mir. Amen," which is almost untranslatable.

"You have answered with less modesty, Martin, than becomes your person, and not to the point. You have divided your books into various classes, and yet all that you have said has nothing to do with the question proposed to you. But if you had recanted those, in which the greater part of your errors are found, His Imperial Majesty, out of his innate clemency, would undoubtedly have prevented the condemnation of the others which are good. But you resuscitate errors which the whole Council of Constance, assembled from the whole of Germany, condemned, and desire to be corrected by the Scriptures; in which you are certainly crazed. For what is the use of re-opening the discussion in regard to matters, settled by the Church and a Council for so many ages,* unless indeed a reason must be rendered to everybody upon every matter. But if it shall once have become established, that every one who contradicts the decrees of Councils and the Church, must be refuted by the Scriptures, then we shall have nothing certain or determined in Christendom. And this is the reason why His Imperial Majesty demands of you a simple and plain answer, either negative or affirmative. Will you defend all your sentiments as Catholic? Or will you revoke any of them?"

Then Doctor Martin requested that His Imperial Majesty would not permit him to be forced to retract, contrary to his conscience, which was taken captive and held bound by the Sacred Scriptures, and without conclusive arguments by his opponents. As to the unsophisticated, simple and direct answer which is demanded, he had no other to give than that which he had already given. Unless his opponents could extricate his conscience from what they called his errors by satisfactory argument, he was not able to escape from the net, in which he was entangled. That all the decrees of Councils were not necessarily true; yea, Councils had often erred and issued decrees contradictory, the one of the other. Hence, the argument of his opponents was not valid; that he could show that Councils had erred, and that he could not revoke that which was written with the greatest plainness in the Scriptures.

To these things no answer was made by the Official, except to say very briefly that it could not be shown that a

*The Council of Constance was held from A. D. 1414 to A. D. 1418, something over a century before.

Council had erred. But Doctor Martin declared that he was able and willing to prove this.

It was not until darkness had gathered throughout the whole audience chamber, that they retired to their place of abode. As he was retiring from the tribunal of His Imperial Majesty, a great part of the Spaniards assailed that man of God, Luther, with sneer and jeers, and sent after him a long continued groan.

On the sixth day after *Misericordiam Domini*, (Friday, April 19,) upon the assembling of the Electoral Princes, Dukes, and other Orders of the Diet, usually present at its deliberations, the Emperor sent in a written message, as follows:*

"Our ancestors, who were also Christian Princes, were none the less obedient to the Roman Church, which Doctor Martin Luther now assails. And seeing that he has made up his mind not to depart a finger's breadth from his errors, neither can we, with honor, depart from the example of our ancestors in defending the ancient faith, and

*Cochlaeus, (as quoted by D'Aubigne. vol. 2, p. 271,) says that this was "an autograph message written [by the Emperor] in the Burgundian language, with his own hand. D'Aubigne's account of this missive is so different from our text, that I insert his professed translation entire, for their easier comparison. It is as follows: "Descended from the Christian emperors of Germany, from the Catholic kings of Spain, and the archdukes of Austria, and from the dukes of Burgundy, who have all been renowned as defenders of the Roman faith, I am firmly resolved to imitate the example of my ancestors. A single monk, misled by his own folly, has risen against the faith of Christendom. To stay such impiety, I will sacrifice my kingdoms, my treasures, my friends, my body, my blood, my soul and my life. I am about to dismiss the Augustine Luther, forbidding him to cause the least disorder among the people; I shall then proceed against him and his adherents, as contumacious heretics, by excommunication, by interdict, and by every means calculated to destroy them. I call on the members of the States to behave like faithful Christians." The difference is accounted for by the fact that D'Aubigne does not adhere to original documents, but selects from all accessible sources, whatever (like a true Frenchman, as he is) he considers most dramatic. He has here translated first from the German version of the Latin of our text, and has then inserted a highly rhetorical passage from Pallavicini's Hist. I, 118.

giving aid to the Roman See. We shall therefore put Luther himself and his adherents under the law, and employ whatever means we may to destroy them. But we will not violate the faith which we have given and written. On the contrary, we will aid him in returning in safety to the place, whence we brought him."

This proposition of Charles, the Electoral Princes, the Dukes and Estates of the Empire, discussed, through the whole forenoon of Friday, and also on the whole Sabbath which followed, and Dr. Martin, had hitherto received no answer from His Imperial Majesty.

Meanwhile he was visited and seen by many Princes, Counts, Barons, Knights, Nobles, ministers of religion, and laymen, to say nothing of great numbers of the common people. These last continually crowded the court, and could never be satisfied with seeing him. Two placards were likewise stuck up, the one against Doctor Luther, the other, apparently, in favor of the Doctor. But that is supposed by many, and those intelligent persons, to have been done by the craft of his enemies, that a pretext might be afforded for revoking the safe conduct which had been given him, and which the Roman legates most earnestly sought to have done.* On the Monday after *Jubilate*,† before supper, the Archbishop of Treves sent word to Doctor Martin Luther, that he should appear before him on the Wednesday following, at six o'clock, the place to be designated afterwards. On St. George's day, about supper time, the chaplain of the Archbishop of Treves, by the command of his Prince, returned to Luther, requesting his presence in his Lord's hostelry, on the next day but one.

On the Wednesday following St. George's day, Doctor Martin, in obedience to this command, enters the hostelry of the Archbishop of Treves, conducted by the Archbishop's chaplain and the Imperial herald, being accompanied by those who attended him hither from Sax-

*D'Aubigne (*ubi supra*) says: "Charles, if we may credit a historian, bitterly repented in after years, that he did not adopt this infamous suggestion." But if we take what we have presented above as a genuine copy of his autograph message to the Diet, we may well acquit him of any such dishonorable intentions. He there voluntarily and distinctly pledges himself to keep his pledged word inviolate to its full extent.

†The third Sunday after Easter, in our calendar.

ony, by Thuringians and some others of his especial friends. When he came to the presence of the Archbishop of Treves he found him surrounded by Joachim, the Marquis of Brandenburg, George, the Duke of Saxony, the Bishops of Augsburg and Brandenburg, Count George the Master of the Teutonic Order, John Bock of Aargau, and the Doctors Werdheymer and Peutingen. Doctor Væus (Wehe,) the Privy Counsellor of Baden, began to speak, protesting, "That he had not been called, in order that they might hold a controversy with him, but that, out of mere Christian charity and clemency, the Princes had obtained permission from His Imperial Majesty to give him a kind and fraternal exhortation.

Then he says: "Councils, although they have established different decrees, have never established contradictory ones. But even if they had erred in the highest degree, even that did not overthrow their authority, at least not so, that any one who pleased could oppose them at his own pleasure." He had a great deal to say about the Centurion and Zaccheus, also about human constitutions, ceremonies and statutes, asserting that they were all established for the repression of vices, according to the circumstances and necessities of the times, and that the Church could not do without her human constitutions. The tree was known by its fruits. It was said, however, that many good things were derived from the laws; that St. Martin, St. Nicholas, and many other saints had attended councils.

Secondly, that his books would excite great commotions and incredible disorders; that the common people would abuse his book "*On Christian Liberty*," to throw off the yoke and establish insubordination; that matters were very different now from what they were, when believers had but one heart and one mind. Laws were therefore necessary.

Moreover it was to be considered, that although he had written many good things, and, beyond all doubt, with a good spirit, as in regard to the "*Threefold Justice*,"* and other works, that the devil was now secretly laying his snares that all of his [Luther's] works might be forever condemned. For from these his last writings, it would be truly shown that the tree was not known by its flower, but by its fruit.

*"*De triplici Justitia*," a short tract, written by Luther in 1518.

Finally, he added something about "the devil at noon-day,"* and "the affair that walketh in darkness," and "the flying arrow." The whole speech was of a hortatory character with rhetorical passages about the honor and utility of laws, far remote from the region of the dangers of conscience, but full of the public and private safety. Then alike in the beginning, in the middle, and at the end, he insisted again and again, that this admonition was administered to him by the Princes with the strongest good will, and out of an especial clemency. At the close, by way of epilogue, he subjoined threats, saying that it would come to pass that if he persisted in his purpose, the Emperor would go forward and banish him from the Empire, and exhorting him to lay these, and the like things, to heart and duly weigh them.

Doctor Martin replied: "Most gracious and most illustrious Princes and Lords, I thank you with all the humility that I can, for the most kind and most gracious benig-nity which has suggested your admonition. For I recognize myself to be a person entirely too insignificant to be admonished by such distinguished Princes."

He then declares freely, that he had not blamed all Councils, but only that of Constance, especially on this account, that it had condemned the word of God. This appears in this article of John Huss, which was there condemned: "The Church of Christ is likewise the whole body of the elect.† It is certain that the Council of Constance condemned this article, and so, consequently, this article of our faith," *I believe in the holy Catholic Church.*" He said that he did not refuse to offer up both his life and his blood, only let him not be placed in such a position that he should be compelled to deny the plain word of God. For in defending this we must obey God rather than men.

Nor could he here prevent scandal to the faith. For scandal is two-fold—of charity and of faith. Of charity, which depends upon manners and the life, and of faith or doctrine, which is dependent upon the word of God. And this it was not now in his power to avoid. For it was

*The references is to the 91st Psalm, verses 5 and 6, where the Septuagint also reads "δαίμωνιον" and "ἀσπυγματος" instead of "destruction" and "pestilence" as in the English version.

†*Ecclesia Christi*—*est et universitas predestinatorum*—translate "*predestinatorum*" "*elect*," as we are not accustomed in English to speak of "*the predestinated*."

not in his power, that Christ should not be a rock of offences. If the sheep of Chaist were fed with the pure pasturage of the gospel, the faith of Christ truly preached, and the officers of the Church good and pious, so as to perform their duties faithfully, there was no need to load the Church with human traditions, &c. That he knew that it was a duty to obey magistrates and rulers, even when they lived badly and unjustly. He knew that we must yield to our own feeling, and that he had taught this in his writings, and that he would perform all these things most obediently, only let him not be compelled to deny the word of God.

Doctor Martin having withdrawn, the Princes deliberated upon the answer, which should be made to him. Having recalled him to the dining-room, the Baden Doctor repeated what he had said before, urging him to submit his writings to the judgment of the Emperor and the Empire.

Doctor Martin answered humbly and modestly, that he did not, and would not suffer any one to say that he had declined the judgment of the Emperor, of the Princes and Estates of the Empire. For so far was he from fearing their investigation, that he gave the right, even to the lowest, of examining his books with the greatest strictness, provided, it were done under the authority of the divine word, and of the sacred Scriptures. But that the word of God was so manifestly upon his side, that he could not yield, unless he were better instructed by the word of God. For that St. Augustine wrote, that he had learned to give this honor only to those books which are called canonical, that he would believe them true; but as to other Doctors, however distinguished by sanctity or learning, he only then believed them, when they wrote that which was true. Moreover St. Paul had written to the Thessalonians,* *"Prove all things; hold fast that which is good."* And to the Galatians: *"Even though an angel should come from heaven, and preach anything else, let him be Anathema,"*† and so he was not to be believed. He, therefore, most earnestly begged that they would not urge his conscience, bound by the bonds of Scripture and the Divine word, to

*Thess. 5, 21.

†Gal. 1, 8. Luther, of course, quotes from the Latin Vulgate, and for the sense rather than with verbal accuracy.

deny the word of God, which was so plain. "He begged that they would regard him favorably, and especially that they would prevail upon his Imperial Majesty, that he might not be compelled in this matter to do anything contrary to his conscience; otherwise, there was nothing that he would not do with the greatest readiness.

The Elector John, Marquis of Brandenburg, asked him as he was saying these things, whether he had said that he would not yield, unless convinced by sacred Scripture? Doctor Martin replied: "Yes, most gracious Lord, or by most clear and evident reasons."

Thus this conference being dissolved, and the other Princes going to the Diet, the Archbishop of Treves called Doctor Martin to his dining-room, having his own chancellor, John Eck, and Cochlaeus* present with him. Dr. Jerome Schurff and Nicholas Amsdorff stood by Dr. Martin Luther. Thereupon the Chancellor began to argue as a sophist and a canonist,† defending the cause of the Pope. He said that heresies had almost always arisen from the sacred Scriptures, as for instance, the Arian, from this passage of the gospel; "*Joseph did not know his wife until she brought forth her first born son.*"‡ He then proceeded to assail the proposition, "That the Catholic Church is the whole body of the saints." He dared even to make wheat out of tares, and limbs out of the bodily excrements. These and similar ridiculous and futile things brought forward by him, Doctor Martin and Doctor Jerome Schurff, although soberly, exposed as not bearing upon the subject in hand. John Cochlaeus also sometimes putting in his clamors endeavored to persuade Doctor Luther to desist from his undertaking, and thence forward abstain from writing and teaching. Finally they withdrew.

Towards evening of the same day the Archbishop of Treves announced to Doctor Martin, through Amsdorff, that his safe conduct had been extended by the Emperor for two days longer, so that he might be able to treat with him in the meantime. For this purpose, therefore, Doctor Peutingger and the Doctor of Baden would come to him

*One of Luther's bitterest enemies.

†One who relies upon the authority of the Church Canons:

‡St. Matt. 1, 25.

the day after to-morrow, and, in fact, he would treat with him himself.

On Thursday, therefore, which was St. Mark's day, before noon, Peutinger and he of Baden endeavored to persuade Luther that he should simply and absolutely give over to the Emperor and the Diet* the decision in regard to his writings. Luther replied, that he would do and suffer all things, if only they would decide the matter by the authority of sacred Scripture. Otherwise there was nothing that he would be disposed so to commit; for God had said by the prophet:† "*Put not your trust in Princes, nor in the son of man in whom there is no help.*" Likewise, "*Cursed be the man that trusteth in man.*"‡ That nothing was less to be given up to the judgment of men than the word of God. So they went away, asking him to deliberate so as to answer better, and saying that they would return after dinner.

Having returned after dinner, they vainly attempted the same thing that they had done in the morning. They begged that he would, at least, submit his case to the judgment of a future Council. Luther agreed to this, but upon this condition; that they should exhibit to him the articles taken from his books, which they would subject to the future Council, and yet so that they should pass sentence upon them from the Scriptures, and prove the contrary by testimonies of the same.

Thereupon having departed from Doctor Martin they tell the Archbishop of Treves that Martin had promised that he would leave his affairs to a Council in some articles, in regard to which he would, in the meantime, keep silence, of which, however, Doctor Martin had never even thought, for he was never able to be induced either by admonitions or by threats, either to deny, or to submit to human judgments his books which he had proved by clear and plain testimonies of the Scriptures, unless he could be convicted of error by holy writ, or by plain reasons.

It happened, therefore, by a singular good providence of God, that the Archbishop of Treves called Luther to him, that he might hear him personally. Then when he understood very differently from what Peutinger and he of Baden had reported to him, he declared that he would

*The original is "*Imperium.*"

†David in Psalm 146, 3.

‡Jeremiah 17, 5.

not for a great deal have missed hearing him, for he was just upon the point of going to the Emperor and telling what those Doctors had reported to him.

But the Archbishop of Treves discussed matters very kindly with Doctor Martin, in the first instance apart from all witnesses, as well in regard to a decision by the Emperor and the Diet, as in reference to the judgment by a Council. In this conference Doctor Martin concealed nothing from the Archbishop, declaring that it would be by no means safe to leave so great a matter to those who had made new demands upon him after he had been called out under the public faith, had condemned his opinions, and approved the Pope's bull.

Then having called in a friend, the Archbishop of Treves asked of Doctor Martin what remedies he would propose for this matter? Luther answered that there were no better remedies than those which, according to the testimony of St. Luke in Acts V., 38-39, Gamaliel had proposed when he said: "If this counsel of this work be of men, it will come to naught; but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it." The Emperor of the Estates of the Empire might write this to the Roman Pontiff, and that he (Luther) was well assured that if this, his undertaking, was not of God, it would perish of its own accord within three years, yea within two.

To the Archbishop's inquiry as to what he would do, if the articles that should be submitted to a Council should be condemned? Luther replied, Provided only that they are not those condemned by the Council of Constance. The Archbishop said that he feared that those would be the very ones. "But," said Luther, "upon those points, I neither can, nor will be silent, inasmuch as I am sure that the word of God has been condemned by those decrees, and therefore I would rather lose my head and life than desert so clear a word of God.

The Archbishop, seeing that Doctor Martin would by no means submit the word of God to the judgment of men, graciously dismissed him, and to his request that he would obtain for him from His Imperial Majesty a gracious safe conduct,* replied that he would properly attend to the matter, and send it to him.

Not long afterwards the chancellor† of Treves, in the

**Clementem commeatum.*"

†Von Eck.

presence of one who had formerly been a chancellor of the Emperor Maximilian, but was now one of the Emperor's Privy Counsellors, by the Emperor's command, said to Doctor Martin, in his place of sojourn: "Inasmuch after having been so often vainly admonished by his imperial Majesty, and by the Electors, Princes and Estates of the Realm, you are unwilling to return to a hearty unity with the Church,* it only remained that His Majesty (as the defender of the Catholic faith) should proceed in the discharge of his duty. It was therefore the command of the Emperor that within the twenty-one following days he should return hence to his place of security, under the public safe conduct, which he would fully† keep, and whilst on his journey he should not excite the people, either by preaching or by writing.

Having heard this message Doctor Martin replied with great modesty: "The Lord hath done as seemed to Him good, blessed be the name of the Lord." And he then added, that "he very humbly gave the most sincere thanks to his most serene Majesty, to the Princes and other Orders of the Empire, for so kind and gracious a hearing, and for their safe conduct which had been and was still to be kept; that in all that he had said he had no other desire than a reformation of the Church by the sacred Scriptures; and for which he was still most anxious. In other respects, he was willing to submit to anything for his Imperial Majesty and the Empire, whether life or death, honor or dishonor, that he would make no reservations, except the free word of God alone, to which he must always confess and give his testimony. Finally, he most humbly commended and submitted himself to his Imperial Majesty and to the whole Empire."

On the next day but one, that is to say, on the Friday after Jubilate, (April 26,) having bid adieu to his patrons and friends who had come to him in great numbers, after he had taken breakfast, he departed at ten o'clock in the morning, accompanied by those who had attended him hither. The herald, Caspar Sturm, having followed him some hours later, by command of the Emperor Charles, given by his own mouth, overtook him at Oppenheim.

May God, therefore, long preserve to His Church a most pious man, born to purify Christian doctrine and illustrate

*Ad cor et unitatem."

†Libere ipsi servando.

the glory of Christ, and raise up many others with him to preach the word with great power! Amen.

ARTICLE IV.

MISSION WORK IN THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN THIS COUNTRY.

By Rev. D. M. HENKEL, Stroudsburg, Pa.

No Protestant denomination in this country has half the amount of Mission Work to do, as that of our own Church. The tens of thousands of Germans, and yet more of Scandinavians who annually come to this country for earthly homes, very naturally look to us for spiritual homes. In addition to these, are our own native-born Lutherans, who also depend upon us for religious instruction and Church accommodations. How shall we, or can we, meet these great demands?

I. The necessity of Mission Work in our Church, in the larger towns and cities of the country, on account of language, claims our special attention. In nearly all the larger towns and cities of the country, we find those who have no preaching, no religious attention given them, on account of their language being strange to most other denominations; and their own Church, either through neglect or inability, fails to supply their spiritual wants. In consequence of this, thousands annually are lost to our Church, who either go to other denominations or to the world. This should not be; hence the great need of a more energetic and a more extended Mission Work by us, in towns and cities. The larger towns and cities are the centres of population, from which the smaller towns and rural districts are chiefly supplied, and if their spiritual interests are properly cared for, they will soon form for us thriving congregations.

There is also a necessity of Mission Work in our Church on account of our peculiar doctrines. If we believe our doctrines to be scriptural, and the nearest in accord with gospel truth, it behooves us especially, to see that they are

taught, and particularly to the children of our faith. There is a peculiarity in our religious faith and system, not found in other denominations, which seems to fit us for no other communion so well as for our own. Hence it is, that many of our faith in the larger towns and cities, having no church of their own, stand aloof from all others, and but too often are devoted to the claims of the world. Here then, is Mission Work for us to perform, not merely to keep those of our faith, who are faithful and true, in the Church, but also to reclaim and to win back those who have wandered from the fold and the Church of Christ.

II. There are difficulties in the way of Mission Work. The want of pecuniary means is a very decided hindrance to our efforts in the larger towns and cities. The great majority of our people, especially in the West, being foreigners, in indigent circumstances, have not the means to purchase lots and to build houses of worship; consequently they must wander about from place to place like sheep without a shepherd. Thus for the want of the pecuniary resources our progress hitherto has been very slow in town and city. Yet it is a satisfaction, notwithstanding this difficulty, within the last decade there has been considerable advancement. Another great difficulty, with which we have always had to contend in our Mission work, has been the want of a sufficient number of men, of the right character. It is a very great mistake, which our Church has committed, in supposing that it matters little what kind of men are selected to do Mission Work, only so they are pious and respectable preachers. This has been a great drawback to our progress, as a denomination. It is true, piety and preaching ability are two necessary qualifications for a missionary; but they are by no means all that are required. But another difficulty in the way of Missionary Work is the variety of language, required in our Church. Where one language is only required, it is comparatively easy to find men to do Mission Work, but where, as with us, in every large town, at least two languages, and in some of our large cities, as many as four are required, the difficulties are greatly increased. Such is our condition in this country, and as the old world from almost every section continues to pour into our land the children of our faith, the difficulties, connected with language, increase until we are constrained to cry out: "Come over and help us!" But who will help us? or whence will help come? The flood

is already upon us, and overwhelming us. If we are, however, faithful and energetic in the work assigned us, God, who is ever mindful of his people, will send help in our extremity.

There is yet another difficulty in the way of successful Mission Work; it is the want of Church love. Love for a cause is the great lever which surmounts every obstacle. Now where love for the Church and for her peculiar doctrines is wanting, Mission Work is difficult. And we are compelled to acknowledge that, in many of our large towns and cities, this Church love is sadly wanting, not so much in our foreign element as in our own native-born Lutherans. Why should this be? The foreign-born and indoctrinated Lutheran is taught to believe that there is something different, something distinctive in his Church and her doctrines from other denominations, which deters him from readily leaving it. Whilst on the contrary, with many of our native-born, who have been taught to believe that there is not much difference between the doctrines of his own Church and other denominations—that the name and discipline constitute the greatest difference, therefore it matters little where they belong—their love for the one Church is about as great as for another. Both, however, suffer, the members and the Church. The individual member suffers by being continually tossed to and fro by every wind of doctrine, and the Church is constantly undergoing depletion. Were our youth properly instructed in the distinctive doctrines and usages of our Church, so as to be imbued with a church-love, Mission Work would then, in town and city, be less of a task, and, we would to-day, count many more churches of our denomination in the great centres of population, than we now do.

III. The necessary requisites to success in Mission Work are not so much pecuniary means as united effort. Money will erect a church edifice, yet it cannot build up a congregation of believers. But a united effort of a dozen large-hearted, faithful Christians, can organize a congregation, and, if they cannot, at once build a church, they can, at least, secure a place in which to hold worship. We know from experience what it is to encounter difficulties in the way of building up churches in large towns, and we also know what will overcome those difficulties where money is not at hand—united and energetic effort; and

nothing else. Another requisite is the right kind of laborers. We have already said that it is a mistaken idea to suppose that if a man is only pious and possessed of a preaching ability, he has all that is necessary to success in Mission Work. There are some other qualifications just as necessary, and if not possessed, failure will follow. He should not be a novice in the ministry; sometimes, it is true, inexperienced young men succeed in Mission Work, but as a rule, they do not. He must also be a sound, earnest, gospel preacher; not necessarily a brilliant man, for such are not, generally speaking, good workers. And the danger to be apprehended in connection with brilliant men in Mission Work is, that when they leave, a collapse succeeds, because their work was not on the proper basis; the foundation was the man, not Christ. But other essentials are good sense, sound judgment, and withal good business qualifications. Mission Work above every other work in the Church, in order to succeed, requires the missionary to be possessed of these qualifications. As a general thing, in most new organizations, the minister is looked up to for advice; he is expected to lead, not to follow. It is then upon his good sense, his sound judgment, and his business qualifications that the newly organized congregation depends. But if he is deficient in either, the organization will soon come to an end. Another requisite is perseverance. He who is deficient in this, cannot expect to be very successful. When others despond and are fearful, then must the Missionary be cheerful and hopeful. When others are ready to yield, and to sink under difficulties, then must the Missionary come with his resources and cheer up the faint-hearted, and raise the enterprise from its depression. He must also possess honesty of character, must not only be honest in his dealings as a business man, but also as a preacher of the doctrines he professes to advocate. There is nothing which so soon and so effectually breaks up a new organization, as dishonesty. Whenever discerning men see in the minister, whom they have called to lead in the dissemination of our distinctive doctrines, a disposition to occupy an equivocal position, and an effort to compromise our doctrines, then difficulties begin and divisions ensue, or a total disorganization is the result. Much valuable ground has been lost by pursuing just such a course. On every hand our Church calls for Mission Work. May it be our

aim, as much as possible, to supply this demand. If any one class of ministers more than another needs the aid, the prayers, and the sympathies of the Church, it is the missionary. For he is the frontiers-man who fells the forest, clears the land and thus prepares a habitation; and though rude in appearance, it is the foundation for a subsequent structure of more symmetrical proportion and imposing appearance. He is the miner who from the bottom of the mine, throws up the jewel in its rough state, and places it in other and more expert hands, to be polished and to be set in its appropriate place. But whilst he is thus engaged, let us not disparage him, or his work, as is too often the case, but rather let us encourage and assist him in his arduous work, for we cannot do without him.

ARTICLE V.

THE DIVINE GOVERNMENT: REVELATION, IV.

By REV. P. BERGSTRESSER, A. M., Taneytown, Md.

St. John, the author of the book Revelation, having written a different letter to each of the seven churches of Asia Minor, is now favored, (ch. IV.) with a symbolical representation of the Divine Government, as carried on in the interest of Christ's kingdom. The subject is complicated, and comparatively little has been written on the chapter under review.

The existence of the Divine Government does not need much proof, if we believe in a personal Deity. It is established in Natural Theology, that all things are made and preserved by God, who knows thoroughly all our physical and moral susceptibilities, even the thoughts and intents of our hearts. "In Him we live, and move, and have our being."

That the Divine Government is moral in its nature, must be inferred from its end, and from the nature of God. Its valid ground lies in God's intrinsic perfections. God fully

knows his own excellence, and governs accordingly. He is the standard of all virtue and truth, the object and end of his legislation, and He is desirous that all his intelligent creatures, in heaven and on earth, should be wrought up to this, for which he holds out many inducements, and in which alone, is found true and permanent happiness. Man finds within himself a moral want, which can become satisfied only, as the soul is assimilated in moral excellence to the Deity. He has capacities for higher communings than any which human society affords. He has spiritual susceptibilities, and is truly a being fitted for religious worship and service. This is already seen in the key-verse of the chapter under consideration, which says: "Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory, and honor, and power; for thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are and were created." Thus the deepest want of the human soul is supplied by the divinely appointed and the authoritative method of appearing before God, and in confiding love and trust, pouring out the whole religious being in adoration, and receiving the pledges of the divine approbation and favor. So St. Paul: "Therefore, being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ: by whom also, we have access by faith into this grace wherein we stand, and rejoice in the hope of the glory of God." (Rom. 5 : 1, 2.) For this the Divine Government is instituted and carried on in the interest of Christ's kingdom, through whom alone the creature can find his way up in adoration to the Father of spirits. Man needs a discipline, which no being but God, as Father, Son and Holy Ghost, can administer.

Sin, in every way displeasing to God, is involved in the Divine Government, as consequent upon liberty. God has given man a moral agency for the purpose of exercising himself in holiness, but in the exercise of this moral agency, sin has been evolved, not because it was not displeasing to God, but because it would have been contrary to the divine image in which man was created, for God to have excluded it by force. A free moral agency having been bestowed on man for a good end, it was competent that it should be put into exercise, notwithstanding the evolution of sin.

Although sin has now entered into the world, and perverted man's moral agency, yet it has not destroyed his personality, nor the possibility of his communication with

the Father of spirits. God's attributes and man's faculties still involve the ethical behest of authority on the one side, and of subjection on the other. But, how is this subjection to be secured in a being, alienated from his Sovereign? Reason has no answer to this question, but the Gospel has. This communication between God and man must necessarily introduce a moral government, modified in its application to sinful man by a dispensation of grace, if its original end, man's holiness, is to be recovered and maintained.

But here the conflict between reason and revelation at once commences. A person might, however, suppose that so long a time as that which human reason has given in vain to this subject, would be sufficient to baffle any further attempt to solve the moral problem by its own powers, yet the very attempt shows, that man is connected to the spirit world by ties, which cannot be severed. Hence, the readiness with which he has betaken himself in all ages to oracles and auguries. No important journey is undertaken; no wars are declared; no truces entered into; no seeds are sown; no sickness or calamity is endured, without first consulting the spirit world. Gifted men, believed to see further into the spirit world than others, were sought out; all passing events and flight of birds were noticed, and the voices, which issued from the hollow graves and slimes, and the whisper of the breezes were attentively listened to, in order to give the perplexed inquirer some intimation of supernatural guidance. While human reason, therefore, argues against the necessity of a supernatural revelation, its own history, and its own productions brought under trial, are the strongest argument in favor of both the necessity and of the possibility of such communication. Man's own history shows, that he has the abiding conviction, that God may, if He chooses, reveal his will to man in some positive way, as we have it in this chapter.

How, then, should we approach the investigation of the subject? With an abiding faith in its truthfulness. St. John says: "*After this I looked, and behold a door was opened in heaven.*" The scene is laid in heaven, but the drama is enacted on earth. The hand that moves and guides the affairs of this world, is invisible to mortal eye. But a door has been opened in heaven to all who desire to look in.

This phenomenon drew the Apostle's profoundest attention, and absorbed his spiritual being. But, for this he was prepared, having previously enjoyed a similar communication from the celestial world. It was when Christ was transfigured on Tabor. In that he had a typical illustration of the glorified state. When philosophy, therefore, doubts the possibility of such communication, we simply answer, that she is incompetent from her own resources to decide anything in reference to an order of things, which is known to us as little by conclusions of reason, as by intuition. She is wholly incompetent to know how this should be; it is, therefore, our duty as children to sit at the feet of the Revelator, and to hear what the communication from the celestial world is.

The apostle continues: "And the first voice that I heard was as it were of a trumpet talking with me; which said, Come up hither, and I will show thee things which must be hereafter." (v. 1.) The voice which St. John had heard before, (Rev. 1 : 10,) but which is the first among others, that he heard at this time, was the voice of Jehovah, the Incarnate God. In this voice we have the strongest argument for, and the firmest hope in the existence of a spirit world. Having heard the trumpet voice, the apostle is immediately thrown into a spiritual ecstasy. St. Paul had a similar experience, "When he was caught into Paradise, and heard unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for man to utter." He could not tell, whether he was in the body, or out of it during his trance; it is, therefore, useless for us to attempt to solve the mystery. It was, nevertheless, a real communication with the spirit world, like that of St. John's.

The Divine Government, a pure Theocracy.

This is inferred from what follows: "And immediately I was in the Spirit: and, behold, a throne was set in heaven, and one sat on the throne." (v. 2.) The throne denotes regal power, and here a pure theocracy, which is the best government that can be established, as it has the highest liberty of its subjects in view. The world has evidently departed from true liberty; it is in bondage to sin, and under the guidance of Satan, who plays a prominent part in this book.

This bondage to Satan manifests itself in ten thousand ways. This it is, that has produced the atheism, panthe-

ism and superstition in which the greater part of the race are still held. How cold and damp is atheism! How cheerless and revolting are pantheism and superstition! "Pantheism shows us a beautiful mansion—but the sight is melancholy; we have no desire to enter the building, for it is without an inhabitant; there is no warm heart to beat, no just mind to rule, in these large but tenantless halls. It gives us delusions, which serve to alleviate nothing, to solve nothing, to illuminate nothing; they are vapors, which may, indeed, show bright and gaudy colors when seen at a great distance, but in the bosom of which, if one enters, there is nothing but chill and gloom." Not so with God's spiritual temple, which he is constructing. This is inhabited; God himself is the light of it. The plan of this temple belongs to the Father Almighty; the Son has purchased the material with his own precious blood; and the Holy Spirit prepares the material, and builds it up. It is evident from this, that God's spiritual temple, is to be his masterpiece. His plan embraces the rise and fall of worlds, of empires, kingdoms, republics and states. The whole stream of history, that of men and angels, is continually sweeping around it, that, in the ages to come, He may point to this, as the monument of his grace and power. God is the author and finisher of his own habitation. Having finished it, He will also dwell in it. Then will be heard, "Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men, and He will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them, and be their God. (Rev. 21 : 3.)

This pure theocracy has a perfect code of moral precepts, written in man's conscience and republished by revelation. It demands that both the outer and the inner life be in harmony with the divine will. "Thou shalt love the Lord, thy God, with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment. And the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." To bring man back to complete loyalty, which consists in conformity of heart and life to this code, is the object of the divine legislation. This liberty can be attained alone by the gospel. But it is evident from the description which is given, that all men will not be restored to this true liberty as it is in Christ, and that many thousands will be lost; yet all will in the end glorify God, either by their salvation, or their damnation.

The theocratic "throne was set in heaven, and one sat on the throne." The representation is much in the same manner as the prophet Ezekiel has given it. (Ezek. 1, 26-28.) Who does not see by this, that all things are established by God, who cannot be turned from his ultimate purpose in the creation of the world? This was to reveal his divine character, and to have it duly acknowledged by all his intelligent creatures. This shall yet be attained, which is evident from the next chapter, (verse 13,) which unfolds the practical workings of the divine government in the hands of the Lord Jesus, but which is not now the direct subject under consideration. The passage alluded to is this: "And every creature which is in heaven, and on earth, and under the earth, and such as are in the sea, and all that are in them, heard I say, Blessing, honor, glory, and power be unto him that sitteth upon the throne and unto the Lamb for ever and ever." This corresponds with what is taught us, in Rom. 14, 11. "As I live, saith the Lord, every knee shall bow to me, and every tongue shall confess God." Sin cannot turn the Divine Legislator from his ultimate purpose; it must become subservient to his will. God is not the author of sin, but still He overrules it for the good of his Church. The introduction of sin into the world has, however, modified the Divine Government; its administration in penal justice has been changed into an administration in grace. But for this the race would have been destroyed in its progenitors. God had said to man: "But of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it; for in the day thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die." This sentence would have been executed immediately after the transgression, and thus the whole race would have been cut off in its progenitors, had not such change of administration in the wisdom of God been effected.

The Divine Government of the world in grace is beautifully symbolized in the chapter under consideration: "And he that sat, was to look upon like a jasper and sardine stone; and there was a rainbow round about the throne, in sight like unto an emerald." In this description we find nothing of the terrible; but all moves on as if conducted by the hand of a gracious Father. The jasper was of various colors, as red, yellow, brown, and green, with the yellow predominating; the sardin stone *λίθος Σάρδινας*, was a precious stone of a blood-red and sometimes flesh

color; while the emerald is well known to have the green, a color so attractive to the eye. Now the green, red, and yellow are the three fundamental colors, out of which are formed the seven well-known shades of the rainbow, which is a symbol of grace—a sign of the covenant which God has made with man. "I have set my bow in the cloud, and it shall be for a token of a covenant between me and the earth." (Gen 9 : 13.)

What, therefore, does the Holy Spirit wish to teach us by this description of the theocratic throne? Evidently that the Divine Government is an administration in grace. This is proved by the rainbow. By the divine countenance we may be able to form an opinion as to how we stand before God. Here the divine countenance is lighted with mercy. "He that sat was to look upon like a jasper and sardine stone, &c." By the countenance we judge the feelings of another toward us. "Cain was wroth, and his countenance fell." "Jacob beheld the countenance of Laban, and, behold, it was not toward him as before." The same language is employed in reference to the Lord—language adapted to human infirmities. "The Lord lift up his countenance upon thee." "Thou hast made him glad with thy countenance." The Bible is full of this subject.

Therefore we conclude that this whole aspect of the theocratic throne is symbolic of the administration of the world in grace, by which nations as well as individuals are disciplined for a higher sphere of existence. If it were not so, the human race would long ago have been destroyed by penal judgments; but as the design which God has in view, in afflicting men, is for their good, the world continues from generation to generation. From other portions of Scripture, however, it is distinctly seen that the Divine Government will by and by be changed again into an administration of justice, and then cometh the end. "When all things shall be subdued unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subject unto him, that put all things under him, that God may be all in all." (1 Cor. 15 : 28.) That will be at the judgment, when Christ's mediatorship shall have ceased, and He shall have assumed the character of Judge. (Rev. 20 : 12.) Herein lies a profound thought, whose consideration we will now attend to in the investigation of the

Consummation of the Divine Government.

We have a beautiful description of this in the fourth

verse of our chapter." "And round about the throne were four and twenty seats (*θρόνοι*;) and upon the seats I saw four and twenty elders (*πρεσβυτέρους*;) clothed in white raiment; and they had on their heads crowns of gold." In this description there are four things, which demand special attention: (1) the twenty-four thrones; (2) the twenty-four presbyteries; (3) the white raiment with which the presbyteries are clothed; (4) the crowns of gold.

1. *The Twenty-four Thrones.* In this, we have the fact brought to light, that in the administration of the Divine Government, God employs divers agents, to whom he delegates the exercise of regal power; there were thrones set round about the great throne. Who cannot see from this, that God has made creatures with wills in liberty, which move independently within their prescribed limits, by means of which, God attains his ultimate end in creation? Hence, the creature, whom God has made in his own image, is not a mere machine, moved from one point to another by an invisible hand, but he is a moral agent with a will in liberty, in the creature's free exercise of which God attains his ultimate end. To rule such a world demands indeed omniscience. This gives us a sublime view of the Divine Government, which will not plunge us into the rigid logic of fatalism and materialism. That such is a proper view of man, is evident to any one who has made the operations of his own mind a subject of accurate investigation, and who has a correct comprehension of liberty in Christ, as taught in the New Testament.

2. *The twenty-four elders upon the Thrones.* These are the representatives of the redeemed ones under the Old and New Covenants; twelve for each, making twenty-four in all. These redeemed ones, from both dispensations, having passed through the divine discipline, have attained the ultimate end of their creation. They show the highest development, to which human beings can attain. Although they were at first created a little lower than the angels, yet they have, at length, come nearer the throne than the angels. So they have reached their destination! Who should refuse to submit to the divine discipline, when it conducts to so glorious an end? "Now no chastening for the present seemeth to be joyous, but grievous: nevertheless, afterward, it yieldeth the peaceable fruit of righteousness unto them which are exercised thereby." (Heb. 12 : 11.) By a divine discipline in grace, He brings

us, through various stages of moral development, until we are complete in Christ.

We perceive, that the elders were sitting, which position, of course, symbolizes rest. They have now entered into the rest, which awaits all God's people. (Heb. 4 : 9.) They have now come into the heavenly Canaan, where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest. The conflict is over, and the victory is obtained.

3. This is further evident, from the *garments*, with which the *elders* are clothed; they are clad in white raiment. Nothing, which is morally unclean, can enter this high position in the spirit world. In the seventh chapter we are told how these garments were made white. "These are they, who have come out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb." (Rev. 7 : 14.) This shows, that the Divine Government includes the Christian system for the highest moral development of fallen humanity. Except as the religion of the Lord Jesus Christ reaches man's mind and heart, there is little hope of his improvement in moral excellence. Man cannot attain to those thrones in the heavenly place by his own efforts, for the dead weight of sin, which hangs upon him, will ever draw him down to the world by its own inherent power. "O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death? I thank God, through Jesus Christ our Lord." Nothing can make our garments white but the blood of Christ, who must become to us righteousness, sanctification, and redemption, in order that we may attain to the glorified state of the elders.

4. *The crowns of gold.* This denotes the regal state, to which the glorified ones have been exalted. Jesus said to his disciples: "Verily, I say unto you, that ye which have followed me, in the regeneration, when the Son of Man shall sit on the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel." (Matt. 19 : 28.) The twenty four elders then represent the redeemed ones under the Old and New Covenants. The Church of God is identical in all ages; it is only divinely modified from generation to generation, to suit the moral development of the race, which it has under instruction and discipline. Therefore, what the Saviour here says in Matthew, is generally applicable to all the redeemed, for

in Christ Jesus we are all made kings and priests unto God, the Father. (Rev. 1 : 6.) But shall we be kings and have no thrones to sit upon? Not now, but in the regeneration, when the Son of Man shall sit upon the throne of his glory. The saints will occupy these thrones, immediately after their glorification. (Rev. 20 : 4.) Then will also be fulfilled the third beatitude: "Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth." (Matt. 5 : 5.)

It appears from the intimation, which is here furnished, that God is preparing, by his Divine Government, beings who shall be exalted to some vacant thrones, now found in the spirit world; perhaps, those from which the rebellious angels were cast. This may, in part, account for the devil's intense wrath against the saints of the Most High, and for the Saviour's comforting words to his disciples: "Let not your hearts be troubled: ye believe in God, believe also in me. In my Father's house there are many mansions: if it were not so, I would have told you. I go to prepare a place for you." (John 14 : 1, 2.) When I look to the heavens, I can see even with my natural eyes, that my Father's house has many apartments, how vast, therefore, must be this habitation! It is further evident, from the Scriptures, that the fallen angels once had dominion over a large part of this vast empire of God, but, having sinned, they were driven from their habitations. (2 Peter 2 : 4; Jude 6.) These may be the kingdoms which the Saviour is now arranging for his people, whom he is preparing in this world, by his Divine Government and discipline. The saints may, therefore, be the complement of the spirit world, and all the complicated workings of this government, may be directed to the end, that those thrones may be occupied by worthy ones. See, then, "that no man take thy crown." (Rev. 3 : 11.)

The Application of the Divine Government.

The application is made by *divine judgments and the operations of the Holy Spirit*. Here we have the process given: "And out of the throne proceeded lightnings, and voices: and there were seven lamps of fire burning before the throne, which are the seven spirits of God." (verse 5.) In this we have the manner in which the Divine Government is applied.

1. By judgments, which are symbolized by the lightnings, thunderings, and voices. Lightnings are apt sym-

bolts of the divine judgments. The Hebrews often represented them as direct exhibitions of divine wrath. In the book of Job we read: "Hear attentively the noise of his voice, and the sound that goeth out of his mouth. He directeth it under the whole heaven, and his lightning unto the ends of the earth. After it a noise roareth; he thundereth with the voice of his excellency." (Job 37 : 2-4.) By this symbol, the lightnings, thunderings, and voices, we have, therefore, an illustration of one method by which the Divine Government is applied to the moral development of man. The introduction of sin into the world has made it necessary, that the Divine Government should be applied to moral agents by means of judgments; by which we mean the calamities inflicted on men for their reformation. However these may be employed, their end is not penal, but disciplinary. God corrects men and nations as long as they are in this life in mercy, not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to a knowledge of the truth; for all the divine legislation throughout the whole world is subject to the economy of grace. In the execution of these judgments God employs war, famine, pestilence, and the beasts of the earth. (Rev. 6 : 8.)

Let us investigate the history of the most prominent nations of the earth, to see how the principles, by which they are disciplined in righteousness, are illustrated. Take first the Babylonian nation, which is symbolized, (Dan. 7 : 6,) by the lion. This nation culminated in a universal monarchy 626 B. C. Its chief head was Nebuchadnezzar. This man passed through a wonderful discipline, until he arrived at a knowledge of the true God. We first discover him as savage as the lion, with the eagle's swiftness to execute his wrath. With what celerity he pushed his armies into India, Palestine, Phœnicia, Egypt, Northern Africa, and as far as the pillars of Hercules. During these wars he seemed destitute of a human heart, but he learned by bitter experience that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will; "for as he was rejoicing in his pride and savage cruelty—he became insane for an appointed time, at the end of which his reason was restored, when he said: "Now I, Nebuchadnezzar, praise, and extol, and honor the King of heaven, all whose works are truth, and his ways judgments: and those that walk in pride he is able to abase." (Dan. 4 : 37.) Having thus attained to a knowledge of the true God, Nebuchad-

nezzar issued a proclamation to all people, nations, and languages, in all the earth, in which he records the salutary discipline, and in which he ascribes due honor to the Majesty of Heaven. The nations of the earth, were, at that time, also, prepared to receive such a proclamation. (Dan. 4.)

2. The part which the Holy Spirit takes in this work of discipline. "There were seven lamps of fire, burning before the throne, which are the seven spirits of God. "From this as well as other portions of Scripture, it is evident that the Divine Government is applied to the moral development of man by the Holy Spirit, who is here represented as seven lamps of fire burning before the throne—seven being a sacred number, and denoting manifold or multiform operations. The Holy Spirit is that hypostasis in the Divine Being, who controls all the moral energy of God in its application to moral beings. "For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the Sons of God." He reproveth the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment. (John 16 : 8.) This is the gracious Being who takes the Church militant, whom He has begotten through his word unto eternal life, through the various stages of moral development, as represented further on in this chapter. (Also, Rom. 8 : 26, 27. In the divine discipline through which Nebuchadnezzar passed, it is readily seen what part the Holy Spirit took. The wars, which Nebuchadnezzar was employed by Divine Providence to wage against the nations of the earth, against the theocratic nations, as well as against idolaters, were conducive, in the hands of the Holy Spirit, to much good every way. Thus the better part of the Israelites were led into Babylonish captivity, whither they brought with them the Holy Scriptures, and many persons who were under the direct illumination of the Holy Spirit. Among the most prominent of these was Daniel, the Prophet, who was brought by the Holy Spirit into direct contact with the monarch, and by whom Nebuchadnezzar was instructed in righteousness.

While the Holy Spirit was thus preparing occupants for the seats around the theocratic throne in heaven, He was also disciplining His own special nation in the truth, as already revealed, and preparing it for higher attainments in moral development. By means of the Babylonish captivity and a more extensive circulation of the Holy Scriptures in the Greek language, the Jews were entirely delivered from the sin of idolatry; but for which it is

doubtful whether this blessed consummation would ever have been reached.

The next universal empire which arose after the Babylonian, was the Medo-Persian, which was established by Cyrus in the conquest of Babylon, 538 B. C., and continued in power to the overthrow of Darius Codomannus, 333 B. C. During these two hundred years of its existence, the Medo-Persian became, in the Providence of God, a powerful empire, but it commenced to decline after its invasion of Greece under Xerxes, who marched against that classic land with an army of three hundred thousand men, picked soldiers, but was overthrown by the Grecians at Salamis, Thermopylae, and Marathon under such Generals as Leonidas, Aristides, Miltiades, and Themistocles, names so justly celebrated in Grecian history. The Medo-Persians, during the two hundred years of their empire, passed through the same kind of discipline as the Babylonians. The two factors, the divine judgments and the energy of the Holy Spirit, are already discovered from their history to have been at work for the purpose of preparing men from among them for a higher sphere of existence.

The most interesting and highest moral development here we find in Cyrus the Great. This man was conducted by Divine Providence through all the four stages—the savage, the civilized, the enlightened, and the religious. If half of what Herodotus tells us is true, Cyrus was the most renowned character of antiquity. When he was called by God to overthrow the Babylonian empire, which had subserved the divine purpose, and filled up the measure of its iniquity, he was yet in the savage, or heathen state. But how rapidly he improved, and others with him, under the divine discipline! By wars and conquests he introduced among his people the blessings of civilization; by his contact with the enlightened Jews and Babylonians, he attained to a knowledge of the true God, and thus, in the course of time, became also truly religious. For having become acquainted with the sublime prophecies of Isaiah, respecting himself, he issued the following decree: "Thus saith Cyrus, the king, since God Almighty hath appointed me to be king of the habitable earth, I believe that he is that God which the nation of the Israelites worship; for he indeed foretold my name by the prophet, and that I should build him a house at Jerusalem, in the country of

Judea." This was foretold by Isaiah, the prophet, one hundred and forty years before the first temple was demolished. (Is. 44 : 28 ; 45 : 1-5.) When Cyrus read this prophecy he was at once convinced of the truth, and led to admire the Divine providence which was guiding him. How sublime to Cyrus must these holy words, read in the history of the capture of Babylon, have appeared : "I will go before thee, and make the crooked places straight ; I will break in pieces the gates of brass, and cut in sunder the bars of iron ; and I will give thee the treasures of darkness, and hidden riches of secret places, that thou mayest know that I, the Lord, which calletd thee by thy name, am the God of Israel. I am the Lord, and there is none else, there is no God besides me ; I girded thee, though thou hast not known me." Thus we see that Cyrus was disciplined in grace, until he was raised from a state of barbarism to a high condition of religious culture. He was a wise conqueror and accomplished prince. He was alike great in military and civil life. If we were to investigate the history of other nations of the earth, we should find the same factors, the divine judgments and the Holy Spirit, at work in their moral discipline, which would render the argument cumulative.

The Foundation of the Divine Government.

"And before the throne there was a sea of glass, like unto crystal." That is a brilliant sea, *θάλασσο ὡς κρυστάλλου*. This symbolizes the justice and equity with which the Divine Government is carried on. However difficult it may be to vindicate the divine character in the permission of sin and death in the world, yet the child of faith is assured that "righteousness and judgment are the habitation of the divine throne." (Ps. 95 : 2.) This agrees with Rev. 15 : 2, in which we have a fuller description of the same subject : "And I saw as it were a sea of glass mingled with fire ; and them that had gotten the victory over the beasts, and over his image, and over his mark, and over the number of his name, stand on the sea of glass, having the hands of God." This foundation is too brilliant for mortal man to examine with a steady gaze, and hence the many and absurd conclusions, which have been drawn relative to the Divine Government. An intelligent answer for the perplexed subject can be obtained only as we contemplate the proper end, which God has in view in all his complicated

government. Some suppose this end to be the greatest happiness of his sentient creatures. According to this theory happiness would be the highest good, and obedience to God, essential to the highest holiness, and thus the highest holiness would be essential to the highest happiness. God foreknew that *man*, placed in the position where he could secure the highest holiness by his obedience, would not be obedient, but would sin. He then arranged his remedial influences through the punishment of sin, the atonement, and the operations of the Holy Spirit, that he can reclaim so many to just such a state of holiness and happiness as will exactly counterbalance the sin and misery.

This theory involves an intrinsic absurdity. If the highest holiness and happiness can be secured only by the introduction of sin and misery, of which they are the equal counterparts, the introduction of sin and misery into the world was an absolute necessity. This would make God the author of sin, by placing him under the absolute necessity of introducing it. How can his government be vindicated by such theory? Of this theory there are modified forms, but all equally absurd.

Others have endeavored to vindicate the justice of the Divine Government on the ground of God's highest worthiness. This seems more satisfactory. According to this theory, God is supreme and absolute excellence, and He cannot deny himself, which would imply a contradiction. God's worthiness and excellence *is the rule of action*. To create intelligent creatures, who shall stand before God in his own image, is worthy of God. Man has thus become a personality. This has brought responsibility, and an opportunity to try the moral agency which has been bestowed. This involves the possibility of sin. If he act worthily of his inner excellence, which lies in the image of God, man will be confirmed in holiness for ever; but if he abuse his liberty, he will fall into self-destruction, from which he can never deliver himself. God, however, may interpose for his deliverance, if He can find a substitute which will subserve the interests of justice as well as the penalty of death. This has been discovered in the atonement made by Jesus Christ our Lord, "who his own self bare our sins in his own body on the tree, that we, being dead to sin, should live unto righteousness, by whose stripes we were healed." (1 Peter 2 : 24.)

And St. Paul teaches us how we may secure this righteousness, the lost image of God, and also how we shall finally be confirmed in holiness for ever: "Now it was not written for his (Abraham's) sake alone, that it (righteousness) was imputed to him. But for us also, to whom it shall be imputed, if we believe on him that raised up Jesus our Lord from the dead; who was delivered for our offences, and who was raised again for our justification." (Rom. 4: 23-25.)

We defend this position by the following argument: All finite personality, with will in liberty, is liable to sin, which liability rises necessarily in limited faculties. But no creature, with infinite faculties, could exist. In a finite personality there must be necessarily a conflict between the higher and the lower faculties. There is thus constant liability to sin. When God exerts his influence in restraining sin, the tendency is still on the same side. The creature has not yet learned by experience to guard against sin. And God must act just so far, and no farther, in restraining man than his own worthiness will allow, or than man's moral agency, which is according to the divine image, will permit. God gives laws to restrain sin by their penalties, the nature of which He need not fully explain to the creature, but while these penalties remain unexecuted, they are constantly losing their weight of restraint. But now when sin has entered the universe through the limited faculties of the creature, and his want of strict attention to his Maker's command, God may consistently augment remedial and preventive influences. Punishment may now begin, and exert its restraining influences. Chastisement in grace may now conduct the whole government for the recovery of the creature. "O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out!"

Having now vindicated the equity of the Divine Government, we are better prepared to resume the thought, suspended in the discussion of this Government, in its application to the recovery of man from sin and misery. The Seer continues: "And in the midst of the throne, and round about the throne, were four beasts, full of eyes before and behind. And the first beast was like a lion, and the second beast like a calf, and the third beast had a face as a man, and the fourth beast was like a flying eagle. And

the four beasts had each of them six wings about him; and they were full of eyes within; (verses. 6, 7, 8.) The word *ζῷα* which is here translated beasts, means literally *living ones*. These were not beasts in the common acceptation of the term, but symbolic representations of man, in his fourfold state, the savage, the civilized, the enlightened, and the religious, embracing the whole world, four being the signature of the earth. (Rev. 7 : 1 ; 21 : 13.)

These cherubim, the symbolic representatives of man, in his fourfold state, were full of eyes before and behind symbolizing intelligence. The Divine Government, which we are contemplating, has to do with God's intelligent creature, man, all around the globe. This is a wonderful being, who by the divine discipline, in judgments and grace, may be brought from his low savage state to the highest religious intelligence. His nature is not like that of angels, who, once fallen, are ruined for ever; but he contains within himself, in virtue of the nature which God has given him, a capacity for constant improvement in moral excellence. "What a piece of work is man! How noble in reason! how infinite in faculties! in form and moving, how express and admirable! in action, how like an angel! in apprehension, how like a God!"

These *living ones* are represented in the vision as being in the midst of the throne and round about it, which shows clearly that the seat of the Divine Government extends to this world. The Triune God is right among us, superintending all his works, which are continued for the spiritual good of man. With this fact in view let us again contemplate man in his moral development under the divine discipline. It is not meant, however, to be taught here that all men will attain to the glorified state; the divine discipline will be to many a savor of death unto death. Only to those who are exercised by it will it "yield the peaceable fruit of righteousness." (Heb. 12 : 11.)

But before entering more fully into this part of our subject, we desire to compare it with the description which is found in Ezekiel, 1 : 5-10, relative to the same matter: "Also out of the midst thereof, (the fire-infolding whirlwind) came the likeness of four living creatures. And this was their appearance: They had the likeness of a man. And every one had four faces, and every one had four wings. And their feet were straight feet; and the

sole of their feet was like the sole of a calf's foot; and they sparkled like the color of burnished brass. And they had the hands of a man under their wings, on their four sides; and they four had their faces and their wings. Their wings were joined one to another; they turned not, when they went; they went every one straight forward. As for the likenesses of their faces, they four had the face of a man, and the face of a lion on the right side; and they four had the face of an ox on the left side; they four also had the face of an eagle." In St. John's description we have four living ones, evidently in the likeness of man as to their bodies, with six wings each, three on the one side and three on the other, one beast having the face of a lion, another that of a calf, the third the face of a man, and the fourth that of a flying eagle. In Ezekiel's description, we have four living ones, all in the likeness of man as to their bodies, each with four wings and four faces, the face of a man, the face of a lion, the face of an ox, and the face of an eagle. The visions are substantially the same; the one presenting to our view the Divine Government from a Jewish standpoint, and the other, from a Christian. In both visions man is the subject of the divine discipline. Ezekiel's vision was designed to comfort the Church of God in her Babylonish captivity; St. John's, to comfort the Church in her spiritual Babylonish captivity. St. John presents man to our view in his individual capacity; Ezekiel, in his collective capacity. Hence in St. John's description, we have one living creature having the face of a lion; another that of a calf; the third, the face as a man; and the fourth, that of a flying eagle; each cherub having six wings. In Ezekiel's, we have four living creatures, each having these four faces, and four wings. In the latter description, we contemplate the vision more as a whole; in the former, more in its individual aspect; but what is true of the whole is also true of its parts. As the whole human family must pass through the divine discipline, in the four-fold state, represented by the face of the lion, the ox, the man, and the eagle, or the savage, the civilized, the enlightened, and the religious, so must each individual be taken through the same moral development in order to attain the glorified state of the elders. The Holy Spirit finds every man dead in trespasses and sins, and from this state He quickens us into newness of life by a diversified discipline, until He has rendered us complete in Christ,

and has brought us into the glorified state. But in St. John's vision each living creature had six wings, while in that of Ezekiel, each had but four. How shall we reconcile this apparent discrepancy of these sacred writers? If the living ones symbolize man, which seems to be well established, the solution is not difficult. The constituent elements of man, according to a Jewish point of view, are soul and body, and so we have a wing for each; but as a man is of a dull nature, we have two wings for each side, making four in all. So in Ezekiel's vision. But according to St. John's vision each cherub had six wings, three on each side of this dual creature. This is looking at man's constituent elements from a Christian stand-point, which describes him as composed of spirit, soul, and body, through all of which parts, the three measures, the leaven of the kingdom must be diffused in order to complete redemption. (1 Thess. 5 : 23 ; Matt. 13 : 33.)

We are now prepared to enter into a fuller description of the meaning of these divine symbols. But as we have already contemplated man somewhat at length in his collective capacity, according to Ezekiel's vision, we will confine ourselves more particularly in the sequel to what we have in the text. We have said that what is true of the whole race in the application of the Divine Government is also true of each individual in it. The divine discipline exerted in the interest of Christ finds man, in his individual capacity, in the barbarous state of sin, wholly sensuous, carnally minded, and destitute of righteousness in its true intellectual apprehension, as well as in its application to actual life. Yet out of this state are to be brought the glorified ones, who are to be seated around the throne of God. This must include man's entire transformation spirit, soul, and body. We will take the trichotomy in the order here given, not from mere caprice, but in the order of their redemption, being just the reverse of the order in which sin entered to man's entire defilement. That this is not an arbitrary division is amply proved by Christ's parable of the leaven, which was hid in *three measures* of meal, till the whole was leavened. (Matt. 13 : 33.) The highest and most excellent department of this living creature in his spirit, which embraces reason, will, and conscience, rendering him a free personality, accountable to the Father of Spirits, in whose image he has been created. By reason, we mean that faculty of the mind by which we

become possessed of religious principles, which guide us in the acquisition of moral truth; by conscience, our self-knowledge of our responsibility; and by will, the motive power to act according to enlightened principles. How to restore the spirit of this living one to its normal condition, is the difficult problem of morals.

The spirit man is moral darkness, and needs illumination. Whence is the light, which is so much needed, to come? He can comprehend the truth when presented, but who shall present it when all are in moral darkness? He is full of eyes within, but what can he see in his moral darkness? Hence, Jesus Christ "is the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." (John 1: 9.) Only in Jesus Christ by the aid of the Divine Spirit does the spirit of man become possessed of principles, which are to guide him in his moral restoration. Here he must learn to know sin in its sinfulness. How? "By the law is the knowledge of sin. I had not known sin, but by the law: for I had not known lust, except the law had said, thou shalt not covet." (Rom. 7: 7.) In order therefore to elevate man, light must come into his spirit by the aid of the Holy Ghost through the truth; he must see light in the great light. Otherwise the fragments of truth, which seem to survive the fall, will be used by him to his perversion on account of his bondage to sin. The invisible things of God, which appear like dim spectres, will otherwise but drive him away from a true apprehension of that God, in whom we live, and move, and have our being. Thus as long as there is no true intellectual apprehension of God, "there is no fear of God before his eyes." (Rom. 8: 18.) The beginning of a better life, however, must commence in the fear of God, which man can learn only in Jesus Christ. "No man knoweth the Father but the Son, and he to whom the Son shall reveal him."

The true God having thus been apprehended by man in Jesus Christ, the monitions of conscience will also be right. As the bodily eye, undiseased, receiving light from the sun, furnishes the whole body with light, but being diseased leaves the whole body in darkness, so conscience illuminated by the Sun of righteousness, the human reason being also enlightened, will be full of heavenly light, basking in the joyful light of God's countenance, the lovely aspect of him who sits on the jasper-sardine throne. Thus enlight-

ened, we may trust conscience's guidance; for its prohibitions are just, and recordings are correct. Yet, in all this, it approaches the normal state only, as it comes under the increasing light of the divine discipline. It does not, however, in this life, reach the normal state, which was that of Adam and Eve before the fall, but being sprinkled from its guilt by the blood of Jesus, its restlessness is removed, its shame is covered up, and its fear is conquered. Thus man is transformed by the renewing of his mind. (Rom. 12 : 2.) This is a growth, which implies a coming under the divine guidance and discipline; a difficult work, which the moral energy of the Divine Spirit alone can infuse into us. But for a long time the conscience may remain weak. (Rom. 14 : 20-23.)

The reason having become enlightened and the conscience purified, the will goes ever permanently and steadfastly toward righteousness and truth. It is free-will that makes us subjects of history. The historian writes about the actions of men, and passes judgment upon those acts, approving here and condemning there. Now, had not man free-will, he could not thus be judged. He would then not be responsible for his acts, having been unable to act otherwise. Yet the will must be liberated from its voluntary bondage to sin, before there can be a proximation to the image of God, from which man has fallen. This is done when the soul is united by faith to Christ. So St. Paul: "But now we are delivered from the law, that being dead wherein we were held; that we should serve in newness of spirit, and not in the oldness of the letter." (Rom. 7 : 6.)

This union induces a change in the feelings. Those things which administered pleasure to the soul before the great change, now occasion pain, and *vice versa*. The feelings of the regenerated, however, must be disciplined by the Great Ruler, in order to bring the soul entirely into subjection with the will of God. If pain is necessary to produce this, the Lord has ten thousand agents at hand, which He may employ for man's discipline in righteousness.

But we must hasten to the third division, man's body, which must be also brought and kept under righteous discipline. Hence, St. Paul, writing to the Romans says: "Let not sin therefore reign in your mortal body, that ye should obey it in the lust thereof. Neither yield ye your members as instruments of unrighteousness unto sin; but

yield yourselves unto God, as those that are alive from the dead, and your members as instruments of righteousness unto God." The body is therefore not a mere useless appendage, but one of the constituent parts of man. We are under moral obligations to seek a complete and healthy development of the body, and to present it undefiled as the temple of God. (1 Cor. 3 : 16-17.) From a vicious neglect of the body many children die in infancy, and others drag out a sickly, deranged, and deformed body through life. Yet with the utmost care the body is subject to many infirmities. "Although Christ be in us, the body is dead because of sin." (Rom. 8 : 10.) But Christ will again quicken our mortal bodies by his spirit that dwelleth in us. For this we groan within ourselves, "waiting for the adoption, to-wit, the redemption of our bodies." When our bodies are glorified, then will our redemption be complete, and we shall be around the throne with the four and twenty elders.

"And they rest not day and night, saying, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come. And when those living ones give glory, and honor, and thanks, to him that sat on the throne, who liveth for ever and ever, the four and twenty elders fall down before him that sat on the throne, and worship him that liveth for ever and ever, and cast their crowns before the throne, saying, Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory, and honor, power; for thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are and were created." Here God has the united praise of the Church militant, and the Church triumphant. Wisdom is justified by the children on earth and in heaven. They alone have been instructed as to the end of all things, and the result is perpetual hymns of praise.

ARTICLE VI.

MARTIN CHEMNITZ AND THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

By Rev. H. E. JACOBS, A. M., Phillipsburg, Pa.

Dr. Martin Chemnitz, next to the great Reformer, con-

fessedly the most eminent of our theologians, in his "*Examen Concilii Tridentini*," bequeathed to the Church a masterpiece, which she has cherished ever since, among her most precious treasures. As a most noble vindication of the doctrines of evangelical Christianity, and an unanswerable refutation of the claims of Rome, as a monument of immense labor, thorough scholarship, and most childlike piety, as a treasury of the pure gold of God's Word, and the sanctified experience of all preceding ages of the Church, it stands next to our Confessions among the classics of Lutheranism. The present article proposes to introduce to the readers of the *Review*, the theme, the author, and the circumstances, which called forth this most remarkable work.

The Council of Trent.

From the beginning of the Reformation, there had been, in many quarters, an earnest desire for the convening of a General Council. The Protestant theologians, hoping, that in a free assembly, an opportunity would be given them to overcome the prejudices of their opponents, and to gain for the truth an impartial hearing, had repeatedly appealed to its decision. The Protestant princes, who were as anxious to prevent a disruption of the Empire, as their spiritual advisers were to prevent a sundering of the Church, hoped by the same means, to conciliate the Emperor, and the portions of Germany which were still hostile to the Reformation. A powerful pressure from both theologians and princes within the ranks of those loyal to the Romish faith, united with that of the Protestants, in urging the trial of this expedient, as the last remedy for the peaceful settling of the difficulties between the two parties. The opposition of some had been excited by the increasing demands of the Papacy; sympathizing with the Wittenbergers in nothing else, they desired a Council, in order that an opportunity might be afforded them, to limit that despotism which was constantly becoming more absolute. The power of the revived Gospel, too, had been felt by many (a noble representative of whom was the pious and learned Cardinal Contarini), who had not openly protested, but, who hoped, that in this way, the Church might be led back, if not to the pure fountains of Israel, at least much nearer than before. As a measure of political expediency, the Emperor desired, that these wishes of the large ma-

jority of his subjects might be gratified ; for the condition of the Empire, was at that time, such as to require, for its safety, the most entire harmony. The Protestants were, therefore, frequently encouraged by the assurance, that he would exert himself to have their request granted. Accordingly, first at Nuremburg, in 1523, and afterwards at Spire, in 1526, the desired council was promised. The Pope, however, fearing lest it might prove a repetition of the two last councils, in which the influence of the Cirmontane power had prevailed, before convening it, waited for such a juncture of affairs, as would be most favorable to his interests. Charles V, impatient at the long delay, in a personal interview with Pope Clement VII, urged upon him the necessity of promptness. The Pope promised to comply with the request ; but, in the midst of his preparations, died. His successor, Paul III, at length, in 1536, issued his edict, summoning the Council to meet at Mantua, May 23d, 1537. But inasmuch as it was evident, that the proposed assembly would not be a free Council, the Protestants refused to attend. For the Council, to which they had appealed, was such as would be convoked, instituted and governed in the same manner as the Councils of the early Church. With a mere creature of the Pope, assembled at such a time and place, as would contribute most to his own interest, and least to theirs, packed with his favorites and slaves, presided over by his legate, and governed by his nod, they could not meet, unless they were willing to sacrifice the truth. The circumstances, under which the Council was convoked, showed that its design was to take measures against the Protestants, instead of impartially hearing their cause. With all his mild and gentlemanly bearing, the Papal *nuncio*, Vergerius in his conversation with Luther, gave utterance to some expressions, which clearly show the intentions of the Pope. "God knows the secrets of hearts," says Sechendorf, "but it is certain, that the Pope then seriously desired to oppress the Protestants with war." Hence, Luther concludes the second part of the Smalcald Articles, with the words : "For at the Council, we shall not, as at Augsburg, stand before the Emperor, or temporal authority, who published a very gracious summons, and permitted matters to be investigated in kindness ; but we shall stand before the Pope and devil himself, who does not intend to listen, but merely to condemn, to murder and force us into idolatry." The

design of the Protestants in all their appeals to a council, was not to regard its decision, but simply because they believed, that the power of God's Word was such as to constrain a free council to decide in accordance with the truth. Luther declares of a general council, that it has "little more power than a bishop in his diocese, or a pastor in his congregation, yet on this account, by no means to be despised."* "A council is an assembly of judges, who, having heard the case, declare their sentence, not according to new laws, but from the Word of God, and anathematize those who contradict it." Hence, Vergerius was surprised to hear Luther declare, that "a council was necessary, and should be desired, not on his own account, or for the sake of his associates, because they needed no council, since they had the pure Word of God, and sound and saving doctrine, and had their churches well grounded in this: but, for the sake of others, in order that his doctrine might come to them." In the introduction to the Smalcald Articles, Luther likewise remarks: "I could wish that a free and Christian council might at some time be assembled, that we might provide for the wants of many. Not that we need a council; for our churches, by the grace of God, through their purity of doctrine, by the correct use of the sacraments, and by their knowledge of the various relations of life and of good works, have been so much enlightened and confirmed, that we have no need of a council. But in various bishoprics, we behold so many parishes entirely destitute and deserted, that the heart of a good man must be almost crushed with grief." "O Christ Jesus, our Lord, do thou thyself convene a council, and there preside! Deliver us by thy glorious presence. We have nothing to hope from the Pope and the bishops: they do not regard Thee. Do thou therefore assist us, who are miserable and poor, who groan for Thee, who seek Thee from the heart, according to the grace which thou hast given us, through the influence of the Holy Spirit, who lives and reigns with thee, and with the Father, blessed forever! Amen." For these reasons, even before the council had been formally called, the Protestant princes, assembled at Smalcald, after conferring with their theologians, on December 21st, 1535, reply to the proposal of the

*Sackendorff's *Historia Lutheranismi*, Lib. III, §LXXVI.

Pope, communicated in writing by Vergerius, to the effect, that whilst on account of the persecution of the pure doctrine, and the defence in various quarters, of most wicked errors, they had earnestly desired such a council as had been proposed two years before, yet, that they did not think it worth while to attend an assembly, in which they saw no hope of a remedy for these abuses. They deny that Germany was not a suitable place for the meeting; and in reply to the assurance of safety, offered to the Protestants who should attend, they refer to the precedents of former councils, at which the most solemn pledges had been violated. They dispute the right of the Pope to call and direct councils, alleging, especially in this case, that he was an interested party, and, therefore, on this account disqualified to act as judge; and insist upon the privilege of all orders of Christian men to be represented. They repeat their demand for a free council, protest their innocence of further strife in the Church, and conclude by declaring, that they had not receded a particle from the evangelical doctrine, according to the words of Christ, Matt. 12 : 32, "Whosoever, therefore, shall confess me before men, him will I confess also, before my Father which is in heaven." Accordingly, in February 1537, after the Council had been formally called, in another conference in the same place, at which the famous Smalcald Articles were adopted, they refuse to go to Mantua.

This refusal of the Protestants, the unwillingness of Frederick, Duke of Mantua, to its assembling within his territory, and the war between the Emperor and the King of France, gave the Pope the necessary pretexts to again defer the convening of the Council, until some more favorable time. The opportunity, for which he had longed, had not as yet come; for political complications arising just then, caused the Emperor to desire more than ever, to conciliate the Protestants. The jealousy existing between the Papal and Imperial power, and the weakness of either to act as freely as under other circumstances, caused a delay of seven years longer. But in 1545, the success of the Emperor in war, and a prospect of a bond of union between the two powers, in the birth of a child, in whose veins would run the blood both of the Emperor, and of the Farnese family, conciliated them. As the result of negotiations, a war against the Protestants, and a General Council were agreed upon; the latter to be assembled im-

mediately at Trent. Luther had repeatedly declared that the Pope was not in earnest in inviting the Protestants to Council, but that all his efforts to induce them to attend, were mere masks of the devil, ("*larvas diaboli*,") by which his real purposes might be concealed, and the odium of war and bloodshed be transferred to them. The truth of this surmise became apparent, when it was discovered, that notwithstanding the hostile determination of both Emperor and Pope, the Evangelical Princes were invited to Trent. When the aid of their arms had been needed in the war against France, at the Diet of Spires in 1544, they had been promised such a general free Christian Council, as they had so long asked; but now since they had gained for the Emperor the Peace of Crespy, he determined in turn to force them to submission. Concealing his hostile preparations, he calls them to Worms, in May 1545, and endeavors to induce them to participate in the Council. But it was all in vain. For all their objections to the proposed Council, at Mantua, applied also to the proposed Council at Trent. They refused to submit to any decision which would not be in accordance with God's word, the Elector of Saxony quoting from Gal. 1: 8, "Though an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you, than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed." Among the opinions which have come down to us, of those whose advice the princes, on this occasion, had sought, is that of the legal faculty of Tübingen, given to their Prince, Duke Ulric. They deny that the Council of Trent was such as had been promised at Nuremberg in 1524. They object to the place as not situated in Germany. They deny that it can be a free Council, as all the prelates were bound by oath to the Pope. They deny the right of the Pope to call a Council, because laymen also should be represented, over whom they alleged that the Pope has no power, appealing to the precedents of the early councils which were convened by the Emperor. For this reason, in connection with the fact that the Pope had already condemned them, and that the decision of the council would proceed from the false assumption that a council could not err, they advise the Protestant princes to refuse all connection with the proposed assembly at Trent.

Accordingly, early in June 1545, the Emperor dismissed the Diet at Worms, and hastens his preparations. The city selected for the meeting was Trent, now a town of

about 14,000 inhabitants, in the southwestern corner of Austria, in the district known as the Tyrol. "Its situation," says Dean Stanley,* "immediately under the Alps, yet on the Italian side, exactly expresses the peculiarity of the assembly convened there. It was to be as near the dominions of the Emperor as was possible, without being altogether out of reach of the dominions of the Pope. It was to come as close to the confines of Protestantism as it could, without crossing the barriers which parted it from them." Here, on December 13th, 1545, the council assembled. The number of members in attendance at first was small; but before the close it swelled to two hundred and fifty two. Several times were its proceedings interrupted. Once, upon the pretext of the appearance of the plague at Trent, but in reality, on account of the Pope's fear of the increasing power of the Emperor, it was removed, March 11th, 1547, to Bologna. The dissatisfaction of the German bishops, led to its dissolution two years later. Again it was convened by Pope Julius I., in 1551, and continued in session, at Trent, until the approach of the army of Duke Maurice, of Saxony, in 1552. Paul IV. assembled it again in January, 1562, when it remained in session, until its final adjournment on December 4th, 1563. The great effort of the Ultramontane party in all their sessions, was to foil all the efforts of those who, for political or moral reasons, desired a thorough reform, to increase the power of the Pope, and so to familiarize the errors in doctrine, against which the Protestants had complained, that henceforth no one who held to the Evangelical faith, could consistently remain in the communion of the Romish Church. The interests of the Pope were represented by his legates who presided over the council. Among those especially zealous on this side, was the President, Cardinal Monte, who opened the council; an impetuous and irascible man, fonder of literary ease than of theological controversy, but who, in some inexplicable way, afterwards became Pope Julius IV. Lainez and Salmeron, two of the founders of the Jesuit society, supported it, with immense learning, and most ardent devotion. But the soul of the Ultramontane party was Cardinal Caraffa, who before the council had concluded its sessions, had ascended to the Pontifical chair, with the title of Paul IV.

*History of Eastern Church, p. 128.

In his early years he was inclined towards mysticism ; but in his later years, all his efforts were concentrated upon strengthening the power of the Papacy. This seems to have been the sole idea of his life. Austere, unrelenting, unscrupulous, everything was made to subserve this one great purpose. He is especially infamous as the re-establisher of the Spanish Inquisition. The proceedings of the council derived their shape from Caraffa, perhaps more than from any one else. Two of the legates of Paul III, Reginald Pole, and Marcello Cervini occupied quite an anomalous position. Both were men of considerable moral earnestness ; both sincerely desired a reform of the Church ; and both were far more evangelical than the majority of the council. But in the discharge of the functions of their office, they permitted their own personal preferences to be subordinated to the will of their master. The former was an Englishman, a member of the House of York, and second cousin to Henry VIII. Whilst pursuing his studies at Padua, he had come under the influence of Caspar Contarini, and acquired theological tendencies, very closely approaching Protestantism. Banished from England, because he could not approve of the divorce of the King, the sacrifices which he there endured, made him a favorite at Rome. At one time, he was nearly elected the successor of Paul III. Upon the accession of Queen Mary, he was sent to England as the representative of the Pope. He was afterwards created Archbishop of Canterbury, but his moderation and leniency to the Protestants, gave great dissatisfaction to the more zealous Papists. Yet in the Council of Trent, he seems to have acted contrary to the tenor of his former life. Whether the saying "That men should content themselves with their own inward convictions, without concerning themselves to know, if errors and abuses existed in the Church," is rightly ascribed to him, cannot be determined. This much, however, is well authenticated, that when Marcellus declared his inability to concur in certain actions of the council, upon the ground of conscience, Pole replied that every one was in duty bound to submit to the will of the majority, even against the protest of his conscience, provided that the assembly clearly knew what were his original convictions. These words, most probably, revealed the manner in which he reconciled his own conduct, as a member of the council, with his better judgment as an individual.

Yet there were times when the latter would assert itself, as when during the discussion on justification, he pleaded with the council, not to reject a doctrine, for no other reason than that Luther taught it. Cervini's tendency by no means approximated so nearly that of the Protestants. He was, however, a man of irreproachable character. Upon being elected Pope, in 1555, he was filled with alarm, lest the position might corrupt him, as it had many of his predecessors. He ascended the chair of St. Peter with the title of Marcellus II., but died on the twenty-second day of his Pontificate.

The Papal legate, who presided during the concluding sessions, was Cardinal Morone, previously Bishop of Modena. Like Pole, he had sympathized with the doctrinal views of the elder Contarini. Several times he had been sent to Germany as the Pope's legate, where he displayed the same characteristics, which distinguished him as President of the council. Afterwards he was imprisoned, upon the suspicion of Protestant tendencies, by the stringent Paul IV (Caraffa.) He was a man of extraordinary administrative ability. But his record is by no means clear. With singular adroitness, he abused the confidence reposed in him by the House of Austria, to further the interest of the Papacy, of which he became a champion after the accession of Pius IV. How honest he was, may be inferred from the fact, that in order to conciliate the Spanish Bishop, he either cunningly drew up, or approved a decree, which was praised by the Jesuit Lainez, as being susceptible of two contrary explanations, thus removing the difficulty by allowing each party to think that it had carried the day.

Among those who were more prominent in the wing which opposed the claims of the Papacy was Marcellus, Bishop of Fesula, who boldly declared in the council that the monks were the wolves who had not entered the sheepfold by the door, and that if the council would not provide a remedy, he would appeal to heaven to correct their abuses. One of the first matters which occupied the attention of the bishops, was an elaborate paper by Cardinal Madrucci, directly attacking the position of Papacy, in reference to the reform of the Church. Jacob Nachianti, Bishop of Chiozza, contended with great zeal, against the decree concerning traitors. The Scriptures, he declared, contained all that was necessary for salvation, and a Chris-

tian life; and why then should they seek another source of information. In this he was supported by Peter Bertramus, Bishop of Fanensis, Francis Bandinus, Archbishop of Siena, in the discussion on justification, "attributed all things to Christ, nothing to man; the entire acceptance of righteousness to faith, nothing to any other preparations."*

The Bishop Della Cava offended the fathers by contending that hope and love and other fruits of the spirit, followed, instead of preceded justification. But unfortunately his zeal for the truth exceeded the bounds of moderation, as he permitted himself to be so exasperated by a Grecian Bishop, as to assault the offender upon the floor of the council, thus conforming Trent, in at least one particular, to the traditionary accounts concerning Nice. As the penalty of tearing away a portion of his opponents beard, he was condemned to perpetual exile. The sentence, however, was commuted. Paul IV afterwards imprisoned him for the offence; but after three years confinement, he was again liberated by Pius IV.

Julius Contarini maintained the same position with regard to justification, and had the satisfaction of hearing the same charges made against him, as had been frequently preferred against his distinguished uncle. With the Archbishop of Siena, Della Cava, and Contarini, were five other theologians. But the chief conflict of the Papists, on this article, was with Seripando, the general of the Augustinian order. The doctrine, however, which he advocated, was not that of the Lutherans, but such as had been held by the elder Contarini, and the theologians of his school, who regarded the works of the new obedience as entering into the meritorious cause of justification, and the merits of Christ as imputed only to make up the the believer's deficiency.

But the adherents of the Pope were largely in the ascendancy. The other party formed scarcely a respectable minority. Some appearance of reform was necessary, in order to prevent a rupture with the Emperor, and conciliate those portions of the Church, which were so greatly dissatisfied. But the whole subject was most adroitly thrown in the background, except so far as concessions could be made, which would not conflict with the interests of the Papacy. The more evangelical wing most earnestly

*Pallavicino, quoted by Seckendorf.

protested; but they were scarcely allowed freedom of speech. A recent Roman Catholic author of the liberal school has written:* "When, on one occasion, a foreign bishop mentioned an historical fact which would not fit in with the Papal system, the storm broke out. Vormediano, Bishop of Cadiz, had observed that former metropolitans used to ordain the bishops of their provinces, by virtue of their own authority. Cardinal Simonetha promptly contradicted him, and then the Italian bishops raised a wild cry, and put him down by stamping and scraping with their feet. They cried out, that this accursed wretch must not speak; he should at once be brought to trial. That was conciliar freedom of speech at Trent." "The German Reformers," says the same authority, "when they wish to paint for public view the heinous guilt of the Popes and Italian bishops, had no need to do more, than transcribe the words of the legates, and many similar statements and avowals let fall at the Council.

The Literature of the Council of Trent.

The literature concerning the Council of Trent, is quite extensive. Its history has often been written, and several times at great length; yet never with that accuracy which is desirable. Two works have the pre-eminence above all others. That of Sarpi, written from a professedly Romish standpoint, with the design of attacking the Council, in all fairness, must be rejected as an impartial history. Neither is the reply of the Jesuit Pallavicini to be accepted as any more trustworthy. The truth lies between the two extremes. A most elaborate criticism of these two authors, has been published by Ranke, in the Appendix to his *History of the Popes*.

The results of the deliberations of the Council, were embodied in "The Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent." (*"Canones et Decreti Concilii Tridentini."*) This official record of its dogmatic statements constitutes the distinctive creed of the Roman Catholic Church. As such it was confirmed by Pius IV, in the bull, *Benedictus Deus*, dated January 26th, 1564. In the same document, he prohibited all expositions or explanations of these decrees, claiming their interpretation as a prerogative of the

*"The Pope and the Council, by Janus. Authorized translation from the German. Boston: 1870." p. 299.

Papacy. Whilst there was considerable dissatisfaction, concerning the decision of the Council, in reference to discipline, and a consequent failure to obtain an harmonious concurrence of all parts of the Romish Church, in its recommendations, the doctrinal articles were received almost unanimously; the only opposition of any consequence, being from the French. A summary of the Canons and Decrees, under the title of *Professio Fidei Tridentinae*, was prepared, approved and published the same year, and made the doctrinal test for all applicants for office in the Romish Church. Two years later, under the sanction of Pius V, the *Catechismus Romanus* appeared, a work prepared in accordance with a resolution of the Council, expanding, however, in many places, its dogmatic propositions; so that an inferior rank among the symbols of the Romish Church, has been assigned this catechism, by many of her theologians.

These works called forth many attacks and defences. Among the latter especially noteworthy, is that of the Jesuit, Dionysius Petavius, who endeavored to prove the identity of the faith of Trent, with the doctrine of St. Augustine. The reply of the Abbot, Augustinus Reding to Heidegger's "Anatomy of the Council of Trent," and the "Exposition of Christian Doctrine," by the distinguished Bossuet, belong to the same class.

Refutations were rather more abundant. We find records of dissertations against the Council by Calvin, Papp of Strasburg, Bachmeister of Rostock, Cellarius of Helmstadt. Calixt, of the latter city, published a "Consideration of the Papist doctrine," as derived from this source; whilst his untiring opponent Calov of Wittenberg, published a "Mateology," (μάταιος, foolish,) of the Council of Trent. The work of Paul Anthony, of Halle, is mentioned by Buddeus in his Isagoge and Walch in his Introduction to the Symbolical Books, as of especial value. The "*Examen Professionis Tridentinae*," of Valentine Albert, styled by Buddeus, as "by far the most distinguished and learned of the Leipsic theologians," is a masterly refutation of the work of Bossuet. The most formidable attack from the Reformed Church, was that of the Swiss theologian Heidegger of Zurich. But among all the works which were occasioned by the Council of Trent, by far the most valuable, is the *Examen Concilii Tridentini* of

Dr. Martin Chemnitz.

A few words concerning its author. He was born in Treuenbriltzen, in the Margraviate of Brandenburg, November 9th, 1522. His parents were poor, and his early studies were, therefore, frequently interrupted by a failure of means. His prospects of usefulness were marred also, by an impediment in his speech. At the age of fourteen, he attended school at Wittenberg, but after only six months stay, was compelled, by his straightened circumstances, to abandon his studies and return home. We find him next, for three years attending the University of Magdeburg, then teaching for a year, then at the University of Frankfort for a year, and then again school teacher, and clerk of Customs at Writzen. Here Melancthon found him, by whose advice he repaired to Wittenberg, to study Mathematics and Astrology. His second residence at Wittenberg was not much longer than the former one, as it was terminated in 1546, by the Smalcald war. The next year he devotes to teaching in Königsburg, and thence goes again to Wittenberg, in order to begin his theological studies; but was not there long, until he was driven away by the plague. His theological attainments, therefore, were largely the result of private study. An opportunity for this was afforded him, by his appointment as librarian of Duke Albert, of Brandenburg. Here he remained until 1552, faithfully studying the Word of God, and the writings of the Fathers and Reformers. But when the Osiandrian controversy broke out, the decided position in reference to the controverted question, which he felt himself compelled to take, made him uncomfortable in his relations to the Duke, who was also an intimate friend of Osiander. Against the earnest remonstrances of his patron, he moved to Wittenberg, where, at Melancthon's suggestion, he began to lecture on Dogmatic Theology. Two years afterward, he was called as Pastor to Brunswick, a position which, notwithstanding Melancthon's earnest efforts to retain him, he accepted. In 1567 he became superintendent of his province, where the remainder of his life was very much harassed by controversy, a sphere for which he had no taste, but which he never sought to avoid, when the interests of the truth demanded it. Here he died, April 8th, 1586. "Remaining steadfast in the faith without wavering," says his successor Lyser,

"he peacefully fell asleep, and delivered his soul into the hands of Christ, his Redeemer."

Herzog's Encyclopedia thus estimates his character: "Chemnitz was no reformatory spirit, but the best and most distinguished theologian produced by the agitations of the German Reformation. In learning, few were equal to him. Taste, refinement, an earnest and well educated mind, he possessed in an eminent degree." Gerhard delights to refer to him, as "the incomparable theologian." Calov recognizes in him the second angel, mentioned in Rev. 14 : 8. Buddeus styles him, "That great theologian of our Church, whom no one will refuse to assign the first place after Luther among the defenders of Gospel truth."

He is well known as one of the authors of the Formula of Concord. He enriched Exegetical Theology, by beginning the "Harmony of the Gospels," which was continued by Polycarp Lyser, and completed by Gerhard. In Patristic Theology, his dissertation on the reading of the Fathers, "*Oratio de Lectione Patrum*," though brief, has been considered, from its first appearance, as one of the most valuable contributions to this department. In Dogmatic Theology, his great work is his "*Loci Theologici*," a posthumous publication, edited by Polycarp Lyser, and issued in 1591. It is a commentary upon the "*Loci Communes*" of Melanchthon, the outgrowth of his theological lectures begun at Wittenberg, and afterwards continued at Brunswick. Its spirit, whilst very decided, is at the same time, mild and conciliatory, its style is remarkable for clearness and precision, the learning it manifests, is most extensive and profound, whilst the warmth of feeling, and the practical tendency which pervade it throughout, give it such a charm as is found in but few works of its kind. "Whether we regard," says Buddeus, "the arrangement, or the doctrine, or the selection of material and argument, or sober judgment, or a clear and plain mode of expression, this work holds the chief place among the systems of the purer doctrine." That he was a master also in the department of Polemic Theology, is shown by his works, on "The True Presence," ("*Fundamentis Sacrae Doctrinae de Vera, Substantiali Presentia*,") and "The Two Natures," ("*De Duabus Naturis in Christo*,") the latter of which Luthardt has styled, "an epoch-making production."

But his master-piece was the *Examen Concilii Tridentini*, the most complete refutation of Romish doctrine ever pub-

lished, a work, which the Papists themselves admit to have done them more harm, than any volume written, since the days of Luther. So thorough is the treatment of every subject which it undertakes, and so little does the personal mingle in the discussion, that the value of the book is not to be measured by its merits as a controversial work. Were the Roman Catholic Church blotted out of existence, the faithful study of this most masterly refutation of her doctrine, would not be of less importance, as an exhibition of the pure faith of God's word.

The circumstances which led to its preparation, were the following: In the year 1560, the Jesuits representing the faculty of Cologne, published a "Judgment concerning the chief Articles of Heavenly Doctrine," (*"Censura de Præcipuis Doctrinæ Cælestis Capitibus."*) "Concerning this Judgment," Chemnitz says: "I can truly affirm, that nothing in the Romish Church, be it ever so notoriously false, or shamelessly impudent, was ever thought, or dreamed of, which this judgment did not dare to openly approve, and defend with still greater impudence." In order, therefore, to expose the true character of the Jesuits, he continues, "I have thought it worth while to select from this "Judgment," the chief points of the theology of the Jesuits, in order that arranged in a brief summary, and publicly exhibited, all may understand and honor it, according to its merit. He attempted no refutation, for he considered "the subject so clear, that it could be understood and decided, even by those who had learned the first rudiments of Christian doctrine; but added explanatory notes. The work was prepared in 1562, and published under the title of *"Theologiæ Jesuitarum, brevis ac nervosa Descriptio et Delineatio, ex præcipuis Capitibus Censuræ ipsorum.*" As its title indicates, it is brief, comprising forty-one folio pages, and seventeen chapters, treating respectively of the origin of the Jesuits, Holy Scripture, Sin, the Free Will, the Law, the Gospel, Justification, Faith, Good Works, the Lord's Supper, the Invocation of Saints, Repentance, Confirmation, Extreme Unction, Images, Celibacy, and certain Jesuitical axioms. The vein of satire which pervades the short notes of Chemnitz is most severe, unsurpassed even by the famous Provincial Letters of Pascal. As an illustration, we need only to refer to a note upon a sentence of the Jesuits, that "the reading of Holy Scripture is not useful, but in many ways pernicious."

ous to the Church," which adds: "O happy and blessed Church, if no Sacred Scripture had ever been inspired by the Holy Ghost, and delivered to thee! What a noble, and excellent work was that of Diocletian, who burned the sacred volumes, in the midst of the forum! What a reckoning too, will God require of those teachers, who took such indifferent counsel for the Church, as to hand down to it Scripture, the source and cause of all evil, without which it would have been so much better and more peaceful, since the occasion of heresy, and the subject of strife, would have been avoided." So also the sixth chapter, concerning the Gospel, is thus introduced: "Deep, long, wide and profound is the silence, in the 'Judgment' of the Jesuits, concerning the word Gospel. Why is it? Because the whole life of the Jesuits, and their entire salvation rests in the law, and inasmuch as in the present life, they can perfectly fulfill this, these saints have no need of the doctrine of the Gospel." The work concludes thus: "These are the chief articles of the theology of the Jesuits, which I could discover in that 'Judgment' of Cologne, and which I have collected and reduced to order, in order, that inasmuch as the name of the sect of Jesuits, has begun to be illustrious, their Theology also might not be unknown to the reader. If they have any other things concealed, following the example of Aristotle, who had some matters which were *exoteric* and others which were only *acroamatic*, that day will reveal it; and there will not be wanting those who may write an appendix, or supplement to the "*Theologia Jesuitarum*." I beseech the Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, to protect the glory of his name, from the insults of this sect. Amen." A German translation appeared shortly after the publication of the original. As the author had partially expected, the Jesuits did not permit this work to be circulated, without attempting a reply. The first response was in German, by John Albert of Ingolstadt, who seems not to have been very successful as a controversialist. Didacus De Pavia De Andrada, more commonly called Andradius, was the author of a more formidable answer, entitled "Orthodox Explanations concerning controverted Articles of Religion." He had played a prominent part in the Council of Trent, and undertook his work, at the request of quite a number of those, who, with him, had participated in its discussions. The result was a volume, more remarkable for its bombast, than for

anything else. "At first sight," says Chemnitz, "I determined, because of its bitter and turgid abuse, to pass by, in silence, this writing of Andradius. But when I considered more attentively the subjects which he treated, I discovered, that by dwelling, as it were, upon another thing, he wished to bring to light certain mysteries which had been agitated in the private assemblies and deliberations at Trent, and inasmuch as this part had been assigned him by the Tridentine fathers themselves, I think that the Papists have wished, after publishing their impious decrees, to give to the Christian world, also, an interpretation thereof." He therefore determined to avail himself of this opportunity, not so much to reply to Andradius, as to show from his statements, "how many artifices, and what various deceptions, were insidiously concealed in the Decrees of Trent, which the reader would scarcely suspect, were he to read in course the Decrees by themselves." "I have added," he continues, "in many places, grounds of explanation and refutation, so far as the plan of the *Examen*, as it was begun, would permit. But in this entire discussion, I have endeavored to present nothing new, but only to repeat the customary doctrine of our Churches, which, I do not doubt, is the Prophetic, Apostolic, and truly Catholic harmony." It is this latter feature of the work, which gives it especial value to us; for truth is constant and invariable. Accordingly, in 1565, the first part of the *Examen Concilii Tridentini* appeared, containing chapters upon Traditions, Original Sin, Concupiscence, the Word Sin, the Conception of the Virgin Mary, the Works of Unbelievers, the Free Will, Justification, Faith, and Good Works. The succeeding year he published the second part, treating of the Sacraments *in genere*, Baptism, Confirmation, the Holy Supper, the Communion under one kind, the Mass, Repentance, Contrition, Confession, Satisfaction, Extreme Unction, Ordination and Marriage. In January, 1573, the third part followed, on Chastity, Celibacy, Purgatory and the Invocation of Saints; and in August of the same year, he finished his work, with chapters on the Relics of the Saints, Images, Indulgences, Fasts, Choice of Food, and Festivals. The Frankfort edition of 1707, is regarded the best. A recent edition, edited by Preuss, has been published by Schlawitz of Berlin, in the same beautiful style, in which he has issued reprints of Gerhard's *Loci Theologici* and Baier's Compend. A Ger-

man translation was made by Nigrinus, pastor at Giessen, and published in 1576. Another article, we may devote to the consideration of the discussions of this great master-piece.

ARTICLE VII.

LIFE AND WRITINGS OF FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

The renowned and classical historian of the Jewish nation lived, during an eventful period of the world's history. His works have reached us from the first century of the Christian era. As to their historical importance there can be no difference of opinion. Of their value to the Christian scholar, numerous testimonials from the highest sources are recorded. Tertullian represents Josephus as an admirable expositor of Jewish antiquities. Ambrose says, he is an author not to be rejected. Origen frequently quotes him as a reliable historian. Eusebius acknowledges, that from him he derived much aid in the preparation of his ecclesiastical history. Jerome speaks of his extensive knowledge, especially of his large acquaintance with Grecian literature. The ablest critics and philologists of all ages have given him the highest endorsement. By scholars of more modern times, men of great learning and sound judgment, his productions have been regarded with the greatest favor. Grotius, Scaliger, Vossius, Rosenmüller, Michaelis, Neander, Porteus, Lardner, Tillostons and Tillemont, commend them, not only for their general accuracy, but for the elegance of their style. The utility of his writings to the Biblical student is obvious; their faithful examination cannot fail to assist in the elucidation of God's Word, and in the confirmation of the believer's faith. We propose, in the present article, to speak briefly of his Life and Writings.

Josephus, who, at a subsequent period, as a dependent on the imperial family, received the name of Flavius, was born in the city of Jerusalem, A. D., 37, four years after the Saviour's death, and in the first year of the reign of

Caligula Cæsar. He belonged to an illustrious family, and was of sacerdotal and royal extraction. His father, Matthias, officiated as priest in the first of the twenty-four courses, and his mother sprang from the Asamonean princes, the Maccabees, who were also priests. He seemed proud of his lineage, and often referred to it with evident satisfaction. His parents possessed character, wealth and position. The son was carefully educated, and, at an unusually early period, his natural powers were highly developed. His progress in study was rapid, and his attainments in Hebrew and Greek literature soon attracted to him public attention. At the age of fourteen, he was frequently consulted by the chief priests on abstruse questions of Jewish law; at sixteen he determined to make a thorough examination and trial of the leading sects of the times, and to ascertain for himself, the doctrines and practices of the Pharisees, the Sadducees and the Essenes. Although a Pharisee by birth and education, he seemed strongly inclined to adopt the views of the Essenes, and having learned that Banus, a prominent teacher of the sect, was living the life of a hermit, in the "wilderness of Judea," using no other raiment than that which the trees afforded, and no other food than the spontaneous fruits which the earth furnished, practicing cold ablutions by night and by day, and employing every means of mortification that his sanctity might be promoted, he went out, and joined him in his holy seclusion. But three years of this ascetic life was sufficient. He became weary of its exactions, abandoned the desert, and, at the age of nineteen, returned to Jerusalem. From this period he became identified with the sect of the Pharisees, to which the mass of the people belonged, and was ever afterward faithful to their principles.

A journey to Rome, which he made when he was twenty-six years old, had, no doubt, an important bearing on his whole future life. The object of this visit, was to intercede with Nero on behalf of some priests, whom Felix, the Governor of Judea, had imprisoned on a trifling pretext, and sent to Rome for trial. They were the warm personal friends of Josephus, and his interest in them was greatly increased, when he heard of their deep religious attachment to the Law, and that they persistently refused, when in prison, to partake of any food which their convictions of duty forbade, and subsisted on figs and nuts alone.

During the voyage he suffered shipwreck, and, for a time, his life was exposed to imminent peril. On his escape, and arrival at Dicæarchia (Puteoli,) in the south of Italy, he formed the acquaintance and secured the friendship of Aliturus, a famous actor of plays, who, in consequence of his profession, was a favorite of Poppæa, the wife of Nero. Through the kind efforts of the actor, and the earnest interposition of the empress, he not only procured the release of the prisoners, but was presented with many valuable gifts. The period of his detention at Rome was not unimproved by Josephus. He devoted his leisure hours to faithful study, especially to the thorough acquisition of the Greek; and so successful was he in the effort, that he learned not only to write, but to speak this noble language with fluency and elegance.

On his return to Judea, he found his countrymen in a high state of political excitement. They seemed determined to shake off the Roman yoke, and become a free and independent nation. They were preparing for revolutionary measures, a mad and desperate revolt, and they were very sanguine as to the result. Josephus, acquainted with the immense resources of the enemy, and fully realizing the folly of engaging in a conflict, which was nothing else than a defiance of the power of the civilized world, which must result in inevitable defeat, earnestly endeavored to dissuade the Jews from the hopeless, insane attempt, but the effort was useless, his entreaties vain. They would not listen to his suggestions, they rejected his counsels, and nothing remained to him, but to unite in the contest, and to share in the discomfiture and fall of his country.

In this last and fatal insurrection of the Jews against the Romans, to him was entrusted by the Sanhedrim the government and defence of Galilee. As a moderate, liberal and conciliatory man, his appointment was opposed by some of the more radical members, especially by the celebrated, but infamous, John of Gischala, a bitter and subtle enemy, who constantly plotted against him, and repeatedly sought his life. But Josephus defeated his designs, and triumphed over all his machinations. He entered upon the duties assigned him, and with so much prudence and skill did he administer the government of the province, that he secured the confidence of the people, and the approval of

his masters. He fortified the cities and villages, instructed the people in the military art, and successfully repulsed the enemy. But the victory was only temporary. The Romans speedily returned, and renewed the conflict. With Vespasian as their leader, reinforced and exasperated they everywhere in their march, carried desolation and carnage. Despairing of success, and deserted by the authorities at Jerusalem, Josephus still continues his valorous exertions. He occupies the strongly fortified town of Jotapata, built on a precipice, and urges the people to make a brave and determined resistance. The struggle was fierce and desperate. The greatest resolution and heroism was displayed by the Jewish General, and for nearly seven weeks he gallantly maintained his position, and successfully resisted Rome's disciplined and veteran troops. The fortress was, however, fiercely stormed, forty thousand men fell, and twelve hundred prisoners were taken, and those of the garrison, that had not perished in the siege, were put to death. Josephus, with several others, during the confusion of the massacre, fled to a cave, where, for several days, they lay concealed, whilst the enemy were prowling around them, but having been betrayed by a captured woman, he was dragged from his hiding place, and brought into the presence of Vespasian to receive sentence of condemnation. He begged, at this critical moment, for a private conference with the Roman General, when he related a dream, which he had had in the cave, and predicted that Vespasian and his son Titus would, at no very distant day, be elevated to the imperial dignity. "Send me not," he said, "to Nero; bind me still faster, and keep me in chains, for soon thou wilt be the sovereign lord of earth and sea, and of the whole human race." He appealed to the surviving inhabitants of Jotapata to say, whether he had not long before announced this result, the present calamities of his countrymen, and in vain urged them to avoid the conflict. "If it shall appear," he adds, turning to Vespasian, "that I have deceived you, let me then be put to death." Vespasian, overcome by his remarkable address, granted his request, and although detained as a prisoner for three years, and carefully guarded, he was treated with marked distinction, and received numerous presents, as evidences of the imperial regard and favor.

The death of Nero, soon after, was succeeded in Italy by civil dissensions and sanguinary wars. Different individu-

als by different interests were declared emperor; they were, however, murdered almost as soon as they were announced. But in the midst of these popular tumults and civil commotions, Vespasian was proclaimed emperor by the army in the East. On his acceptance of the imperial power conferred upon him by the soldiers, he remembered the prophecy of Josephus, and sending for the captive, not only restored him his freedom, but bestowed upon him various favors and special privileges. These things occurred, whilst Vespasian was at Alexandria, endeavoring to establish his authority and strengthen his position in that region. On his departure for Rome, he directed Titus to return to Palestine, and bring the war, which was still raging, to a conclusion. Titus prevailed upon Josephus to accompany him, so that he was present with the Roman army during the memorable siege, and, on the fall of the city, A. D., 70, was frequently of great service to his nation. During the progress of the siege, he was often sent by Titus to persuade his countrymen to capitulate, to submit to the Roman authority, and thus save the city and the cherished temple from inevitable destruction, but neither his importunities, nor the tears and sobs of the people, had the slightest effect. They were influenced by no entreaties; they would listen to no terms. Infatuated, abandoned by Heaven, they were not impressed by their perilous condition, they saw not the danger, to which they were exposed, they realized not the terrible fate that impended. Josephus was an eye-witness of the devastation and demolition of this beautiful city, of the horrors and miseries of this exterminating war. He beheld the destruction of the holy temple, the foundations of Zion plowed as a field, the final subjugation of his devoted country. He witnessed the remarkable fulfillment of the Saviour's predictions, in the terrible events, that were then transpiring.

On the capture of the city, and the termination of the war, Titus offered to grant Josephus any favor he might ask. He only requested that the sacred books might be spared, and that the life of his brother and of his personal friends, preserved. The request was granted. His wishes were gratified. The books were given to him, and nearly two hundred of his friends were liberated, and restored to their former condition. A valuable estate in Judea was also assigned him, which, however, he did not long retain,

for, when Titus departed for Rome, Josephus sailed with him. On his arrival in Italy, he was received by Vespasian with great kindness, and advanced to the highest honor. The privileges of Roman citizenship were conferred upon him, and an annual pension from the royal treasury was granted, and a home provided in the house, formerly occupied by the emperor. He continued to reside in Rome during the residue of his life, engaged in the prosecution of his studies, in literary and historical research. He enjoyed the protection and favor, not only of Vespasian, but of his successors, Titus and Domitian. The precise time of his death is uncertain. All that we positively know is, that he survived Agrippa II, who died, A. D., 97. It is probable, that he passed away, at the beginning of the second century.

Josephus was married three times. His first wife was a captive in Cæsarea, whom he married at the suggestion of Vespasian, while he was yet a prisoner, but whom he afterwards repudiated. His second wife was an Alexandrian woman, whom he also discarded, dissatisfied with her conduct. His third wife was a Cretan, but by birth a Jewess, of distinguished parentage, congenial in her disposition, and "whose character," he says, "was beyond that of most other women."

The character of Josephus may be briefly given. He was a religious man, and disposed to do what he considered right. His mind was deeply impressed with a sense of the Divine presence, and his personal obligations; to the goodness of God he repeatedly ascribes his numerous escapes and remarkable deliverances from danger, the favor and protection, which he enjoyed. He tried to be honest, but his vanity and love of popularity made him, sometimes, time-serving, and less faithful to the principles which he professed. He was ambitious, and, in his efforts to secure favor, sometimes sacrificed his convictions of duty. His conduct was not always in conformity with the teachings of Moses, whom he so much admired and so eloquently defended. But he was proud of his national history. His attachment to his countrymen was sincere and decided, his devotion to their institutions and interests enthusiastic, but thinking that the attempt to resist the Roman power was utterly hopeless, particularly after their repeated failures to sustain their interests, he withdrew his opposition as impracticable and useless, and acquiesced in the exist-

ing state of things. For this he has been the subject of severe criticism and undeserved animadversion. He adhered to the national cause so long as there was any prospect of success, and yielded his homage to the conqueror, only when the necessity was laid upon him. He always conducted himself with becoming dignity and freedom, never abandoning cherished sentiments, and ever availing himself of any opportunity afforded to benefit his race.

As a writer, Josephus possesses many excellencies. His style is clear, vigorous, and classical, resembling, in many respects, in its terseness and elegance, "Livy's pictured page." He has often been pronounced the Grecian Livy. The influence of Grecian culture is apparent in all his productions. He claims for himself, in his historical statements, the merit of accuracy and fidelity, but this claim must be received with allowance, sometimes even with mistrust. His narrative is often colored, and facts are disguised, when there is some prejudice to mislead him, or some selfish object to subserve. There seems a constant disposition manifested to avoid the giving of offence to his adopted friends. The Romans, on all occasions, must be conciliated, their wishes consulted, and their pride flattered. "In narrating the facts of the Old Testament," says Dr. Echar, "he sometimes gives them an artificial turn, and uses such disguising and mollifying strokes, as show that he does not follow the truth rigidly, but prefers to accommodate the most surprising passages to the humors and opinions of those, for whom he wrote." And yet whilst his statements are to be adopted with some measure of abatement, they may be regarded as entirely reliable and truthful when no motive to disguise the narrative existed. His writings are of great value to the Christian scholar. They occupy an important place in the study of God's Word. They furnish collateral evidence of the truths of Divine Revelation. They aid us in determining the canon of the Old Testament Scriptures, in vindicating their antiquity, and in establishing their authenticity. The number and description, for example, of the canonical books, which he gives, are found to correspond exactly with our own. "We have not," he writes, "an innumerable multitude of books, as the Greeks have, disagreeing from, and contradicting, one another; but we have only twenty-two books, which contain the records of all the past times, which are justly believed to be divine. Of

these, five belong to Moses, which contain his laws and the traditions of the origin of mankind till his death. In this interval of time, from the death of Moses till the reign of Artaxerxes, king of Persia, who reigned after Xerxes, the prophets wrote down, what was done, in thirteen books. The remaining four books contain hymns to God, and precepts for the conduct of human life."* In the time of Josephus, the number of the sacred books had been reduced to twenty-two, so as to correspond with the letters of the Hebrew alphabet. To accomplish the reduction, several of the books, *e. g.* Judges and Ruth, Ezra and Nehemiah, Jeremiah and his Lamentations, and the twelve minor prophets, were united into one book:† Although the author dwells chiefly on public and political affairs, the help, which he incidentally affords, in the interpretation of the Scriptures, is very important. He introduces facts which, without any design on his part, shed light on the sacred text, corroborate the inspired narrative, remove supposed difficulties, and reconcile apparent discrepancies. He, a learned and coterporaneous Jew, although hostile to the Gospel scheme, bears, in an incidental way, the most valuable testimony to the correctness of the Scriptural narrative. In his statements there is frequently a perfect correspondence to the facts referred to in the Bible. There is sometimes a conformity in the expression, as well as in the sense. Paul‡ says: "After the most straitest sect of our religion, I lived a Pharisee." In Josephus,§ it is written: "The Pharisees are a certain sect of the Jews, that appear more religious than others, and to be the most exact and skilful in explaining the laws." In Mark,|| it is said: "The Pharisees and all the Jews, except they wash their hands oft, eat not, holding the tradition of the elders; and many other things there be, which they have received to hold." Josephus¶ tells us: "The Pharisees have delivered to the people a great many observances by succession from their fathers, which are not written in the laws of Moses." In Acts,** we read: "And he, (Herod) went down from Judea to Cæsarea, and there abode. And upon a set day, Herod

*Josephus against Apion. Liber 1.

†Horne's Introduction, p. 29.

‡Acts 26 : 5.

§De Bello. Lib. 1. c. 5.

||7 : 3, 4.

¶Antiquities. Lib. 13, c. 10.

**12 : 19—23.

arrayed in royal apparel, sat upon his throne, and made an oration unto them: and the people gave a shout, saying: It is the voice of a God, and not of a man; and immediately the angel of the Lord smote him, because he gave not God the glory: and he was eaten of worms, and gave up the ghost." Josephus* says: "He came to the city of Cæsarea. Here he exhibited shows in honor of Cæsar. On the second day of the shows, early in the morning, he came into the theatre, dressed in a robe, wholly of silver of most curious workmanship. The rays of the rising sun, reflected from such a splendid garb, gave him a majestic and awful appearance. They called him a god; and entreated him to be propitious to them, saying: Hitherto we have revered you as a man, but henceforth we acknowledge you as superior to mortal nature. The king neither rebuked them, nor rejected the impious flattery. Immediately after this, he was seized with pain in his bowels, extremely violent at the very first. He was carried, therefore, with all haste to his palace. These pains continually tormenting him, he expired in five days' time." Similar coincidences, if necessary, might be greatly multiplied in illustration of the point. Josephus, also, speaks of Christ as a wise teacher, and having wrought miracles. In his Antiquities,† he says: "Now there was at that time, Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men, as have a veneration for the truth. He drew over to him, many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles. He was the Christ. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the cross, those, that loved him at the first, did not forsake him; for he appeared to them alive again on the third day, as the divine prophets had foretold these and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him. And the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day."‡ He also refers to Joseph of Arithmathea, to Pilate and to the organization

*Antiquities. Lib. 19, c. 8. †Antiquities, liber 18, c. 3.

‡Gieseler in his Church History, (Vol. I, p. 68,) says: This testimony is regarded with the greatest probability as genuine, but interpolated. The passage was first cited by Eusebius, and repeated without doubt, by succeeding writers. Hubert Gifanius was the first to express any doubt as to its authenticity.

of the Christian Church. He speaks of the murder of the apostle James, and thinks the destruction of Jerusalem was a judgment upon the Jews for their connection with the death of John the Baptist. "These miseries," he tells us, "befell the Jews by the anger of God, by way of revenge for James the Just, the brother of Jesus, who was called Christ, because they had slain him, who was a most righteous person."* He also refers to the death of John the Baptist by Herod, that he might make room for Herodias. Herod had discarded his former wife, who was the daughter of Aretas, a king of the Petrean Arabians. To avenge the injury, Aretas made war upon Herod, subdued him, and destroyed his army. Josephus says, in reference to these events: "Some of the Jews thought that the destruction of Herod's army came from God, and that very justly as a punishment, for what he did against John, that was called the Baptist; for Herod slew him who was a good man, and one that commanded the Jews to exercise virtue and piety."† He records the remarkable prophecy, uttered by the Saviour, in reference to the destruction of Jerusalem, and its literal fulfillment; he furnishes the most ample evidence, proof beyond all dispute, of Christ's divinity, and his mission to the world. From these considerations alone, it is easy to perceive, of how great value the works of Josephus are to the Biblical student.

The Writings of Josephus are embraced in the following list: "The History of the Jewish Wars," "The Antiquities of the Jews," "Flavius Josephus against Apion," and the "Autobiography."

"*The History of the Jewish Wars*," was written soon after the capture of Josephus and his departure for Rome. Whiston assigns its publication to A. D., 75. The work consists of seven books, and contains the history of the Jews from the destruction of the city by Antiochus Epiphanes, B. C., 170, until its subsequent and final overthrow by Titus, A. D., 70. It was originally written in the Syro-Chaldaic language, for the benefit of his own countrymen, especially for those beyond the Euphrates. It was subsequently translated into Greek, for the Western Jews and the Romans. Both king Agrippa and Titus expressed their confidence in the accuracy of the narrative. Titus, over his own signature, pronounced it an authentic manual

*Antiquities, Liber 20.

†Antiquities, Liber 18, c. 5.

of the times, and ordered a copy to be placed in the public library.

"*The Antiquities of the Jews*," in twenty books, published, according to Whiston, eighteen years later, A. D., 98, commence with the creation of the world, and give the history of the Jews from the earliest period till the end of Nero's reign. Much of the material is derived from the Old Testament Scriptures, but many traditions are introduced into the narrative, for the purpose of elevating his countrymen in the estimation of the Romans, and repelling the calumnies, and reports, affecting their character and their history which were in circulation, and exciting contempt and prejudice against them.

"*The Books against Apion*," in two parts, are a reply to a proud and bitter adversary, an Alexandrian grammarian and teacher, residing at Rome, an avowed and inveterate enemy of the Jews, who had adopted the Egyptian prejudices and traditions concerning the nation. The work is chiefly valuable on account of the extracts from old historical sources.

"*The Autobiography*," which may be regarded as supplementary to the *Antiquities*, is more especially designed as an answer to the charges, preferred against him by his old assailant and rival, Justus of Tiberias, who had written in the Greek language, a *History of the War*. Dr. Hudson assigns its composition to A. D., 100, in the reign of Trajan.

The *Editio princeps* of Josephus appeared at Basel in 1544. Since that period the most important editions are those of Hudson, printed at Oxford, 1720, of Havercamp, in Greek and Latin, in two folio volumes, published at Amsterdam, 1726, of Oberthür, in four octavo volumes, at Leipsic, 1781—5, of Richter, at Leipsic, 1825—27, and of Dindorf, at Paris, 1845. The works of Josephus have been frequently translated. The best known versions in English, are by L'Estrange, issued in London, 1702, and by Professor Whiston, also published in London, 1737. The latter, with notes and illustrations, is the edition reprinted in this country, and in general use. A German edition, on the basis of Professor Cotta's translation, with a careful revision of the Greek text, and a large amount of annotation by Rev. Dr. Demme, of Philadelphia, was published in 1840.

ARTICLE VIII.

IN ESSENTIALS, UNITY.

By V. M. ZIMMERMAN, Esq., Hillsboro', Ill.

These words, ascribed to Augustine, Melancthon and others, refer to unity in doctrine, and, with their subsequents, form a sentiment honorable to the hearts and consciences of Christian men; but not even they, who adopt this motto, will deny that it is a step in advance of the popular mind of the Church.

Men usually make religion more a matter of conscience, than of intellect; but when conscience and intellect alike appear to waver capriciously in every breeze that ripples the current of thought, it is an almost certain sign, that something is not exactly right. In the court of conscience, the word convenience has no signification.

There is a certain inspiration in enthusiasm; but enthusiasm alone, when undirected by reason, generally proves to be a bad master. One can scarcely be an enthusiast on any subject, without having more vivid perceptions of the right and the wrong concerning it, than one whose head is clearer and judgment cooler. He who utters sentiments awakened in moments, when the finite mind is striving to commune with the infinite, must be expected to overleap the bounds, to which common men are capable of going. There are enthusiasts in secular, as well as in spiritual, matters; in those things which pertain to local and national politics, as well as in those which relate particularly to the spread of the doctrines of the true faith.

They who profess to make conscience their guide in all things, too often are only enthusiasts; and when this does happen, they are among the most stubborn of living men. And yet it can never be wrong to appeal to conscience. If men do things as opposite as the poles, claiming to act in accordance with the promptings of conscience, and thus leave others to doubt its correctness as a moral guide, it is because Interest and Intellect, the two greatest counselors at its bar, have united their powers to sway the judgment

of the court. Conscientious men often tread divergent paths. That is admitted; but their divergence is rather the divergence of those who follow meridian paths, which, at last, must converge and intersect at a common pole, than a divergence which would lead them in straight lines, out into the infinity of space. Such a divergence, in its very nature, can be only for a time. At last the journey will be finished, and these apparently diverse ways will end at a common point—central unity.

Such divisions usually lead to salutary results. The field of observation and action is thus enlarged. The good that can not be done by one party, will be accomplished by the other; and, if there is any affinity between their elements, each must labor for the accomplishment of the same end—ultimate unity. Christian men cannot always strive with each other, unless in seeking to excel in good works. Forty years ago, the Presbyterian denomination in this country was divided by an internal convulsion; and, when the scattered elements began to coalesce and advance in diverging columns, many good people feared they might never again unite, and yet during the last year their meridians intersected in the pole of Christian fellowship and brotherly unity, and the brethren, who were formerly arrayed against each other in ecclesiastical hostility, are now striving only to extend the boundaries of peace, by building the edifice of their faith, upon the sure and steadfast foundation of a risen Saviour's love.

The general tendency of the times is toward unity and harmony. This is not less true of the Church, than of the political world, and of society at large. The recent union of the great Presbyterian denomination is only an individual instance of this tendency. Other religious denominations, long divided and distracted by temporary differences, are continually approaching nearer to Christian unity.

In the new day that is dawning upon us, Unity and Peace are to be the watch-words of the heroes of human progress. This is foreshadowed in the fact, that men everywhere are beginning to think and speak more kindly of each other, and are becoming more and more prompt to promote the welfare of humanity at large, instead of striving selfishly, as of old, each for his own personal aggrandizement. The politics of the period is being reduced more nearly to certain science; political systems are being

reformed; governments are becoming free, as well as safer and surer; and the inherent rights of humanity are now more sacredly regarded than ever. In the State, it was during the past year, that that magnificent measure of freedom, the *Fifteenth Amendment* to the National Constitution, became the law of the land. In the Church, the Methodist denomination made wonderful progress in permitting the laity to exercise a voice in moulding the ecclesiastical, as well as the secular policy of their churches. In society, the self-conceited celestial, after ages of seclusion, at last permitted the outside-barbarism to meet him on the level, without suffering even the slightest degree of contamination.

These are great gains. To him who loves his fellow-man, they are prognostic of happier things in the future. They show, that however stubborn and unyielding the human mind may appear, the great heart of humanity secretly throbs in sympathy with the principles of justice and truth. They are strides forward which show, that men are, at last, learning the great lessons of peace, that the world is finding out "how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in peace and unity!"

In discussing the question of ecclesiastical unity, we cannot place too much stress upon the unity and greatness of the nation. The State is the great parent of us all. In it, we live and move, and have our continued being. If it is united, harmonious, prosperous, and powerful, the people will catch their inspiration from it, and emulate, in their own way, its deeds of honorable fame. Every other interest must be subordinate to the greatness and glory of the State; for, when the State is weak and insignificant, all the great time-telling schemes of Christian humanity must unavoidably languish and die.

In enumerating the achievements of last year, it is proper to mention that wonder of individual and national enterprise, which now binds the Atlantic to the Pacific in an indissoluble chain—the great Pacific Railway, which is second, in national importance, to no public work of the century. By the aid of electricity, the Atlantic and Pacific may converse together in the kindest sympathy; whilst the steam engine has made the dweller upon the Atlantic slope, the Pacific slope, and the great Central Plain, not near neighbors merely, but members of the same great political family. These States geographically

are not one, but many. They are a plural unity; and, thus strengthened and extended, they are fast becoming one, in brotherly sympathy, one in material interests and prosperity, and one, in all the proud hopes of the future. Why should not other great interests, even those of the Church, which too often are dwarfed, by the unkindly interference of the State, catch new life and new inspiration from the national unity which is ours.

The nature of the human mind is such, that it is not possible for all men to agree in all things; but, in those which are of essential importance to their well-being, they may agree. The principles of peace are constantly growing more potent. Disturbers generally, but especially in political society, now, more than ever, in the history of this country, are confined to men of the lower grades of intelligence. Men, whose large minds and honest hearts go out in loving sympathy for their fellow-man, no longer regard it as reputable, to seek distinction by persistently clinging to hare-brained theories, worthy only of reckless and fiery youth. In moments of great political excitement and alarm, politicians were wont to play upon the fears of timid men by announcing, that in a certain undefined contingency, the Union, and with it all the hopes of the friends of free government, would be broken up and destroyed; that where now all is peace, prosperity, and national unity, hereafter would be only dissensions and disturbances, contentions and war. But we have now outgrown the times, when such announcements can alarm the peace of any one. The political aspect of the country is wholly changed. The people have arisen to new and higher views of the national unity. Once they would have sacrificed everything to preserve the union of the States, within which, it was thought, existed the only basis of a permanent free government; but now they seek first to establish liberty and justice, without which the Union cannot be maintained—without which it is not worth maintaining.

In the days that are past, our patriotism was modified by our fears, which sometimes clouded and obscured the judgment; but now our hopes and aspirations for the future have awakened our minds to clearer processes of reasoning, and our hearts to cooler methods of judgment.

The conclusion of all this is, that men in political life, are growing more reasonable and more just. Can less be said of the membership of Christian Churches?

When the Saviour gave his disciples their final instructions, before sending them out into the world to teach and preach, and work miracles in his name, he warned them, that He had come, not to send peace into the world, but a sword, using language which, though not to be taken literally, must not be understood as wholly figurative. The natural tendency of the advocacy of truth is to excite opposition. We say, in general terms, that truth is mighty and must prevail; but few of us realize, until they are upon us, through what tempests of human passion truth must pass, before its triumph is complete. Evil-minded men often attempted to stay the onward progress of Christianity, by interposing the ruthless arm of unjust war; but the real sword, that the coming Saviour sent into the world, was the sword of Truth, which must go on conquering, until all the nations bow beneath its resistless sway. Like the stone, cut out of the mountain without hands, it shall continue to smite, until error has crumbled into the dust at the feet of the followers of the Lamb.

In the beginning of the fourth century, Constantine made Christianity the rule, instead of the exception, of his widely-extended empire. Then a mighty stride forward was taken; but the edict of a Roman Emperor was not sufficient to establish the pure doctrines of Christ and Him crucified. The false doctrine, that crept into the Church, under this magnificent enlargement of the domains of truth, often almost neutralized the good effects which otherwise might have been potent in humanizing mankind. Even after the Reformation days, some of the nations, which were among the earliest to embrace Christianity, so far forgot the ways of truth, that all the glories of the past, and all the hopes of the future, were darkened by the mists of a present repudiation. The rationalistic periods in Germany, and the Revolutionary days in France, are instances, memorable for their forgetfulness of truth. But to day, the precepts of Christianity, are the basis alike of national and municipal legislation, in all lands in which the human mind has been enlightened by the cheerful beams of the Sun of Science. These are facts, that cannot fail to be encouraging to every true follower of the Saviour, as well as to every honest friend of humanity.

The outlook from the watch-tower of our Lutheran Zion is not altogether cheerful, though not so cheerless, as for many years past. The union of our Churches and Synods,

that lately acted together as a General Synod, was not an unmixed good; and the dissolution of that body, or rather its division into two ecclesiastical organizations, is not an unmixed evil. There were inherent reasons, why that formal union was incapable of accomplishing the objects it was intended to accomplish, but none suggests itself more promptly than this: It was a premature union. The time had not yet come, when the affinity between the elements that entered into its composition, was strong enough to overcome their heterogeneity.

Great advances in matters that concern the human intellect, a spark of that light divine, that beamed upon the earth, when it was said: "Let there be light and there was light," can be made only by striving through tempests of human passion, that saddest bequest of the original fall. This recent division in our ecclesiastical ranks, then, though most probably the prelude to potent changes, in itself, is a matter of very slight importance. We need not attempt to conceal the fact from the public view: there were reasons for complaint on both sides. Within the General Synod, were elements inharmonious and antagonistic. A portion of the members were advancing into views, verging upon the confines of rationalism and infidelity, while others still were rapidly retrograding into the dark avenues of formalism and bigotry, from which the world, through the instrumentality of the Reformers, had so recently been emancipated. He that careth for all the Churches, therefore, ordered it in wisdom, that these two great branches of our Lutheran Zion should be separated for a time, that they may discuss each other's shortcomings, freely and unreservedly, though, it is to be hoped, in true Christian kindness. Iron sharpeneth iron, and in the hither and thither movements of the ecclesiastical pendulum these divine interests must reach, at last, the stationary point of central unity. Our Church is, indeed, divided; but, divided only to conquer, not to be cast down. Whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad. We are not mad—only striving earnestly to know the truth.

It is a reflection, not very flattering to us, that ours, the oldest of the Reformed Churches, has not yet a well organized and well defined Church polity. There is a very wide diversity in the non-essential doctrines, held by those who accept, as essential, the same fundamental precepts, and bear the distinctive name of Lutheran. The life-giv-

ing tenets of Lutheranism, are everywhere the same. It is minor matters only, that will not let brethren of the same faith with Christ walk the wayside, but prompt them rather to seek out, each for himself, a new and splendid thoroughfare to things eternal, which fade not away.

From these facts, a general principle for our guidance may be deduced. It is this: In matters pertaining to churches, Church governments, and Christian doctrines, it is not a safe rule to be very radical, or very conservative, as these terms are commonly used. Radical for the right, would be a noble battle-cry, if there were a fixed standard of right, which all men alike would acknowledge; but, there is no such standard. Even the Holy Scriptures, which might reasonably be expected to furnish the basis of such a standard, are differently interpreted and understood by different men. Its great laws of truth and love are neither vague nor uncertain; and yet so wildly imperfect is the human reason, that men can not, or will not, see the same things in the same light; and, being unable to agree in all things, instead of uniting upon essentials, in which they can agree, waste the energies God has given them, by vainly attempting to harmonize inharmonious non-essentials. If men could agree to accept essential unity as a finality; if they would grant each other full liberty to act, as conscience may dictate, in all matters deemed unessential, or at least of minor importance, in the plan of salvation; if they were willing to allow Christian charity to cover up the multitude of minor differences, which, if not all strictly non-essential, at least are of subordinate importance to the great fundamental precepts, that all Christian people accept in common, then all would soon be well. The harmony, uttered by the sweet bells of Christian sympathy, would soon obliterate differences which can exist only in the midst of violent intellectual conflict, and then the day, when there shall be but one fold and one Shepherd, would speedily draw near.

There is a principle in the human heart, which prompts man to advocate views, with which he has long been identified, even after every one but himself has discarded them, as unreasonable and unjust. This selfish view of things, now stands in the way of true Christian union; and, wherever its influence is not overcome by the charity that vaunteth not itself, and is not puffed up, it must always be productive of results, unworthy of Christian men, and

baneful to the Church at large. In the new day, that is approaching, this principle will lose its prevalent power. Men will draw nearer to each other, as they draw nearer to a common Saviour. All will join in shouting the praises of God and the Lamb. Once the favorite watch-words of churchmen were, "The Confessions," "The Church," "Its numerical advancement;" but, in the new day that shall succeed the present period of stormy dissensions, a re-united and heaven-blest Church will be ready to sacrifice all things for the cause of a crucified Redeemer. Then, indeed, will the Gospel of Peace have free course, and be glorified!

ARTICLE IX.

TENNYSON.

By Professor E. FERRIER, A. M., of Pennsylvania College.

The secret of literary immortality has never been discovered. The caprice of popular taste in regard to books and authors, is altogether incomprehensible. Why one book survives the general wreck, why a thousand others go down under the condemnation of popular judgment, is a question which has never been fully and satisfactorily answered. The illustrations of this seemingly arbitrary decision are numerous, some of them of the most painful kind, and in no department of human effort, may we find more striking proofs of the utter vanity of all worldly glory.

In the last generation, it was a disgrace for any person of ordinary intelligence, not to have read the graceful papers of the Spectator and Tatler; now, not one in fifty, of even educated men, ever opens the volumes. As elements in our literature, though almost unequalled for polish of style, as well as for delicacy of sentiment, and accuracy of criticism, they are of no influence whatever. Miss Edgworth was the most popular author of her period, yet how

few, even in this novel reading age, have perused her tales. Her name is scarcely known by the rising generation. At the beginning of the present century, the name of Walter Scott, as poet and novelist, was almost a household word in Europe and America; yet, in spite of the cheap editions of his works, a careful inquiry leaves the impression, that many of his productions are already consigned to the forgetfulness of the upper shelf of the library. Ten years ago, Tupper was more popular than Tennyson, and scores of even discriminating men, declared the Proverbial Philosophy, a work for immortality. Ten years hence, judging from the present current of public sentiment, the name of Tupper will not be known, while Tennyson will be adjudged the worthy successor of Spenser, Milton and Wordsworth.

Since the opening of the nineteenth century, there have arisen two distinct and well-defined schools of English poetry. The representatives of the first school, are Byron, Shelley and Coleridge. In the early part of this century, Europe was agitated with the most fiery energies. Most of the nations were shaken with the new ideas, which found their unnatural expression in the French Revolution. For the first time, the great doctrine of human equality, with which we are familiar, was not simply taught and believed, but urged with great power, for immediate practical application. The poets felt these new influences more deeply than any other class; or rather, through the poets, these new ideas found their expression. Their poetic natures were stirred by the times in which they lived, and much of their poetry are their glowing and fervid utterances on the topics of the day. Hence, the poetry of the early part of the century is free, fresh, stirring and spontaneous. It is significant, that Wordsworth in his early years, embraced the ideas of the wildest champions of liberty in France. Coleridge formed a scheme for emigrating to this country, and founding, on the banks of the Susquehanna, a model republic, from which all selfishness was to be banished. He received warm support in this plan, from both Southey and Shelley, and the only reason why the Pantisocracy was never made an actual experiment, was want of funds. Byron devoted his influence and his life to the cause of Greek independence, and died at Missolonghi, in 1824, amid the lamentations of the Greek patriots. The hearts of the poets were deeply moved by these experi-

ments among the nations, and the scenes, amid which they lived, furnished them their most fitting themes.

But a new school has now risen. Since the battle of Waterloo, in 1815, many political events of a memorable character have taken place, but they have been useful and moderate, and not the outgrowth of any such theories as were the life of the French Revolution. Poets of this last school, have taken comparatively little interest in the scenes of politics. Tennyson is their great representative. Changes in the State furnish him with no inspiring theme. Of his three or four pieces, patriotic in their character, there is a marked difference between the freedom of Shelley, and the quiet stateliness of Tennyson. That oft-quoted stanza :

"A land of settled government,
A land of just and old renown,
Where freedom slowly broadens down
From precedent to precedent,"

is lofty and quiet, but how far removed from the fresh, and impetuous, and rousing verses of Scott, or Shelley. The only seeming exception in the case of Tennyson is, the "Ode on the Charge of the Light Brigade," which has remarkable vigor, yet rough, and wanting in that smooth flow of utterance, which characterizes the earlier school. Hence, we note the following characteristic of the poetry of Tennyson, and, in a great degree, of the whole school, of which Tennyson is the representative.

There is a want of passion. The earlier poets, as we have already intimated, address more specially the emotional part of our nature. There is a readiness and swiftness in the movement of their imaginations, to which we are strangers. The wonderful and startling events of their day, give them an impetus and a fiery energy, which could not be attained in a more common-place age. This spirit, is almost entirely wanting in Tennyson, and, if we go from the reading of the earlier, to the later poets of the century, we uniformly experience a feeling of disappointment. In Byron or Moore, we are carried along, as if on the bosom of a current, and the stream of passion, carries us on from point to point, almost against our own will. In comparison, Tennyson is cold, critical, and calculating. He crosses many of our cherished notions, as to the nature of poetry. We find nothing corresponding to the description of the

poet, given in Act V : 1, of "Midsummer-Night's Dream."
 "The poet's eye, in fine frenzy rolling, doth glance from
 heaven to earth, from earth to heaven."

The poets of this school are students. They are thoroughly reflective and self-conscious. Tennyson addresses the mind, rather than the heart. His analysis is of the most acute and critical kind, though he has a corresponding imagination, which converts these refined abstractions into pictures, or "makes them audible to the soul, through the most cunning combinations of sound." This is the special office of this faculty. "As imagination bodies forth the forms of things unknown, the poet's pen turns them to shapes, and gives to airy nothing, a local habitation and a name." If Tennyson had possessed the acuteness of the one, without the creative power of the other, he might have become eminent in science, or philosophy, but would have lacked the chief elements of the poet. Every part bears the impress of toil, and frequently he elaborates with a minuteness and pains-taking, which are scarcely tolerable. It is not proper to use the word inspiration, in connection with this school of poets, for they are not inspired; they are severe students, and work out their productions by patient skill. Much of their poetry is occupied with topics, which demand learning and abstract thought. Sometimes the allusions and illustrations are such, as imply a familiar acquaintance with science and history to appreciate.

"Break thou deep vase of chilling tears,
 That grief hath shaken into frost."

Again:

"All those sharp fancies, by down-lapsing thought,
 Streamed onward, lost their edges, and did creep.
 Rolled on each other, rounded, smoothed and brought
 Into the gulfs of sleep."

Reading the poetry of Tennyson quite disabuses us of the idea, that the study of poetry, is a sort of entertainment, a refined amusement, a kind of passive pleasure, rather than something which demands studious and strenuous energy.

All the great poets have drawn much of their freshness and power from communion with the outer world. Wise and genial intercourse with the influences of the material

world, is characteristic of the poetic spirit. It is this, which gives a joy and a gladness to the utterances of Chaucer, and passing from the poetry of the preceding age, to the literature of the fourteenth century, is like going from the oppressive and impure atmosphere of a close room, to the freedom and freshness of the open air. Many of Spenser's finest passages, are descriptions of natural scenery. Wordsworth found poetry everywhere in the outer world. Whittier says of him :

He found

In simple flower, and leaf and stone,
The impulses of the sweetest lays,
Our Saxon tongue has known ;
The Violet by its mossy stone,
The Primrose by the river's brim,
And chance, some Daffodils have found
Immortal life through him."

Tennyson has a mind keenly alive to impressions from the material world. He sees beauty, where others have seen only ugliness, and he hears music, where a common ear would pass unheedingly by. The grand and majestic aspects of nature, have not been presented by him so vividly, as by the poets of the earlier school, but, it is characteristic of Tennyson, that he is a master of all the details in the landscapes, that meet us every day, of the sights and sounds of the country, or of the quiet sea-side. He views nature with microscopic eye, and in aspects which have been hitherto overlooked. In describing scenery, his eye and ear are marvelously delicate, and they are exercised in detecting the minutest relations, and the most evanescent melodies of surrounding objects. In fact, this love for description, as we shall soon see, is one defect of the Arthurian poems. When the poet has placed before our minds a great thought in morals, and his sole design, is its expression and application, we do not like to be detained on the way, by a detailed description of all the intervening or attendant objects.

Much of the force and beauty of style, depend on the judicious use of the attributive combinations, and there is scarcely any part, on which writers at first commit greater error, than in the use of epithets. If unmeaning, or unnecessary, they interrupt the progress, and weaken the force of the sentiment. Milton's epithets are pictures.

The epithets of Shakspeare are exceedingly suggestive. You cannot remove or change one, without injuring the sense, and affecting the harmony of expression. Coleridge says of Milton: "You can no more remove one of Milton's epithets, than you can push a brick from a wall with your fore finger." His adjectives are wedded to his nouns. In all the productions of Tennyson, there is an elaborate pains-taking for this class of words, which at once arrests our attention. His wonderful familiarity with the old English authors, has given him a great advantage in this feature. A reverent and admiring student of Chaucer and Spenser, he has rescued from the past, many an apt expression, which will be a treasure in the language. Decided progress has been made, not by borrowing from other tongues, but by bringing to light old forms, which loyalty to our English should never have suffered to become obsolete, and his influence on the revival of the study of the Elizabethan authors, has been marked.

The last of Mr. Tennyson's poems, entitled the *Holy Grail*, is one of a series of what may be called *Arthurian* poems. The first one, entitled "*Morte d'Arthur*," was published in 1843. They are nine in number, and may be regarded as nine books of a single narrative in verse. They are founded on the exploits of King Arthur, and the Knights of the Round Table. Arthur was a famous king of Britain, supposed to have flourished at the time of the Saxon invasion, and to have died in the year 542, from wounds received on the fatal battle-field of Camlan. His true history has been overlaid with so many absurd fictions by the monkish chroniclers, and mediaeval poets and romancers, that many have erroneously regarded him as a mythical personage. The Round Table was a huge circular marble table, according to the old romancers, at which king Arthur and his knights were accustomed to sit. Every knight had his seat, with his name inscribed on it in letters of gold. Since the days of Milton, the poets have conceived of epic poems founded on the stories of king Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table. Even before Milton, Spenser took for the hero of the *Faery Queen*, this same character, "as most fite for the excellange of his person, being made famous by many men's former workes, and also furthest from the daunger of envye and suspition of present time." The long roll of Spenser's melodious verse is full of the echo of the Ar-

thurian legends. Dryden projected a national epic, with Arthur for its hero, and the poet mournfully speaks of his poverty, as compelling him to waste, upon wretched task-work for the booksellers, time and genius, which he wished to bestow upon a sublime and lasting creation. But it has been reserved for Tennyson to execute what Milton gave up for *Paradise Lost*, though the glooms and glories of Milton's thunders would have grandly rung with the story of the perfect king and type of chivalry, what Dryden could not accomplish for want of leisure, and in which Spenser failed, because of his intricate and involved allegories. The name of Mr. Tennyson's last, and, perhaps, most popular work is the *Holy Grail*, or the *Sacred Cup*. The cup referred to is, that over which our Saviour pronounced the sacramental words: "This is my blood," and which was found, after the death of the Saviour, and the dispersion of the disciples, in a state of miraculous preservation, by Joseph of Arimathea. By him it was taken to England, and remained there many years, an object of pilgrimage and devotion. It at length disappeared, one of its keepers having violated the condition of strict virtue, in thought, word and deed, which was imposed upon those who had charge of it.

"After the day of darkness, when the dead
Went wandering over Moriah, the good saint,
Arimathea Joseph, journeying, brought
To Glastonbury, where the Winter thorn
Blossoms at Christmas, mindful of our Lord,
And there awhile it bode ; and if a man
Could touch or see it, he was healed at once,
By faith, of all his ills ; but then the times
Grew to such evil, that the Holy Cup
Was caught away to Heaven and disappeared."

From that time, it became the mission of the Knights of the Round Table, to recover the lost cup. In the first Canto of the *Marmion* of Sir Walter Scott, allusion is made to this search for the lost treasure :

"A sinful man and unconfessed,
He sought the Sangreal's holy quest,
And, slumbering, saw the vision high,
He might not view with waking eye."

In a note, Scott says : "One day, when Arthur was hold-

ing a high feast with his Knights of the Round Table, the Sangreal, or vessel, out of which the last Passover was eaten, a precious relic, which had long remained concealed from human eyes, because of the sins of the land, suddenly appeared to him and all his chivalry.

"And o'er his head the holy vessel hung,
 Redder than any rose, a joy to me,
 For I knew the veil had been withdrawn.
 Then in a moment when they blazed again
 Opening, I saw the host of little stars
 Dawn on the waste, and straight beyond the star
 I saw the Spiritual city and all her spires
 And gateways in a glory like one pearl,
 No larger, tho' the goal of all the saints,
 Strike from the sea ; and from the star there shot
 A rose-red sparkle to the city, and there
 Dwelt, and I knew it was the Holy Grail,
 Which never eyes on earth again shall see."

The consequence of this vision was, that the knights took on them a solemn vow to seek the Sangreal.

If Tennyson designed that these nine Arthurian Idyls should constitute one whole, a connected Epic, the realization of what floated in the imagination of Milton, Dryden and Scott, he has signally failed. While we place him in the front rank of English poets, it is no disparagement of his genius to say, that he has not the qualifications to write a great Epic, like the *Paradise Lost*. The poetry of Tennyson is essentially lyric in its character. There is a want of comprehensiveness in his treatment of a subject. In *Memoriam*, one of his best and most characteristic poems, written in honor of Hallam, the son of the celebrated historian, worthy to rank as an elegy with the *Lycidas* of Milton, and the *Adonais* of Shelley, is wanting in unity. It is a series of fine lyrics, loosely connected.

The moral subject of the *Holy Grail*, is the struggle in the heart of man, after ideal nobleness of nature. The search for the lost cup, by the Knights of the Round Table, is made a type of that earnest seeking of our nature for something higher and nobler. It represents those aspirations which rise up in every human bosom, after attainments in truth and goodness. You will observe, the whole drift of the poem is moral ; the poet is a preacher of righteousness ; and one great defect of the poem is, the

author has obscured the moral lesson, by the energy which has been expended on the descriptions. When Mr Tennyson has a hero, through want of dramatic power, and success in individualizing character, we lose our interest in the man, and are lost in the enchanting descriptions. Listen to a selection of an adventure of Sir Lancelot, and then contrast it with the prose of Sir Thomas Mallory; Tennyson's rendering is:

"Seven days I drove along the dreary deep,
And with me drove the moon and all the stars;
And the wind fell, and on the seventh night,
I heard the shingle grinding in the surge,
And felt the boat shock earth, and looking up,
Behold, the enchanted towers of Carbonek;
A castle like a rock upon a rock,
With chasm-like portals open to the sea,
And steps that met the breaker: there was none
Stood near it, but a lion on each side
That kept the entry, and the moon was full.
Then from the boat I leapt, and up the stairs,
There drew my sword. With sudden-flaring manes
Those two great beasts rose upright like a man,
Each gript a shoulder, and I stood between;
And when I would have smitten them, heard a voice,
"Doubt not, go forward; if thou doubt, the beasts
Will tear thee piecemeal." Then with violence
The sword was dashed from out my hand, and fell."

The rendering of the same in prose, by Sir Thomas Mallory, is decidedly superior to that of Tennyson: "And the wind arose, and drove Sir Lancelot more than a month throughout the sea, where he slept but little, and prayed unto God, that he might have a sight of the Holy Sangreal. So it befel upon a night, at midnight, that he arrived at a castle, which was rich and fair, and there was a postern that opened toward the sea, and was open without any keeping, save two lions kept the entry; and the moon shined clear. Anon, Sir Lancelot heard a voice that said: 'Lancelot, go out of this ship, and enter the castle, where thou shalt see a great part of thy desire.' Then he ran to his arms and armed him, and so he went unto the gate, and saw the two lions; then he set hands to his sword, and drew it. Then there came suddenly a dwarf, and

smote him on the arm so sore; that the sword fell out of his hand. Then he heard a voice, that said: 'O man of evil faith, and poor belief, wherefore believest thou more in thy harness, than in thy Maker? For He might more avail thee than thine armor, in whose service thou art set.'" In this comparison, the old compiler of the Romances of the Round Table, appears to better advantage than the poet. This is the first criticism we offer on this last piece of Tennyson. As designed to teach a great moral lesson, a lesson which commends itself to every earnest and conscientious man, we are led too far away from the main object, by occasional descriptions. The impression is lost through want of unity, directness and cogency, in the treatment.

Again, the spirit of the age is not favorable to the permanent influence of a work like the Holy Grail. The age is all alive to the moving present. It is not disposed to burrow among the ruins of dead mythologies, whether of Palestine, Hellas, Italy, or England. There are but few chords of sympathy between the present, so real, so materialistic, so full of work, and that period, when brave knights daily sallied forth in quest of adventures, and life seemed a dull, useless thing, without the excitements of chivalrous enterprise. That sorrowful saying of Sir Bedivere is true, as he saw the mystic barge, tended by the three queens, bearing from the shore the wounded body of Lord Arthur:

"For now I see the true old times are dead,
When every morning brought a noble chance,
And every chance brought out a noble knight."

Those old knights would find but little employment in this bustling, toiling age, and so far from asking for chances and adventures, they would put the question: "What shall I eat, and what shall I drink." Thomas Carlyle says: "Our great epic must now begin, not 'Arms and the man,' but 'Tools and the man.'" For this reason, the Holy Grail will not be read with any unusual interest, by those who are ignorant of the great features of that dreamy, romantic age which has passed away forever. And, for the same reason, it will not make the same deep impression, nor be such a power in the language, as many of his former productions. In a few years, while the Holy Grail will be read and admired, by those who have a love for

the age of romance, and the exploits of knight errantry, and who have, by reading, made themselves familiar with scenes, which belonged to a peculiar period of the history of the world, it will not in coming years, occupy the place of power in our literature, which we assign to Maud, In Memoriam, Enoch Arden, or his almost incomparable lyrics.

The style of Tennyson, in some respects, is not fitted for setting forth the exploits of knighthood. Its careful, almost painful elaboration, its extreme simplicity, do not accord with the freedom, boldness and dash, of the age of chivalry. Its dress is too simple for

"The feats of Arthur and his knightly peers;
Of Arthur, who, to upper light restored,
With that terrific sword
Which yet he wields in subterranean war;
Shall lift his country's fame above the polar star."

While we make these reflections on the Holy Grail, and by no means place it among the best of Tennyson's productions, we do not make them in the spirit of disparagement. The Arthurian Idyls will, doubtless, add to the reputation and influence of the Poet Laureate of England.

There is an elaborate finish of workmanship, a perfection of rhythm, a loftiness and moral elevation, which will make them a legacy of inestimable value to all coming generations.

We detect in them, as in his other productions, a creative force, and exaltation and intensity of thought, which gives health and consolation, as well as excitement, a splendor of idea and combination, a depth of serene, imaginative insight, the "vision divine," which make their author the worthy successor of Dryden, Southey, and Wordsworth, who have successively occupied the conspicuous position of poet laureate.

ARTICLE X.

EIGHT YEARS AMONG THE HINDOOS.

By Rev. W. McMILLAN, A. M., Gettysburg, Pa.

For ages past, the country of India has filled the minds

of men with the idea of wealth. The riches of India have been a common-place word; a word that has fired the soul of more than one ambitious man to conquer it; so that many a poor soldier has left his bones to bleach on India's burning plains. And truly it has been, and is still, in a great measure, a land of wealth.

India is an old country, known to have been inhabited forty centuries ago. The first class of men that passed over the mountains, which form its northern boundary, and poured down into the fertile valleys of the rivers Indus, the Ganges, and their tributaries, seemed to have belonged to the Turanian race. They undoubtedly had become a great and mighty people, before the next tide of immigration crossed those same mountains, and flooded those same fertile valleys, from the Aryan race. This we may learn from the remnant of the Turanian race, still existing upon the hills, on the the southern peninsula of India, and on the island of Ceylon, where they have given their language, the Tamil and the Telegoo, to the conquering Aryan race; and from their architectural and monumental remains, which still exist, to show their ancient splendor and renown. Through the southern part of India, among the Tamil people, are many wonderful structures of architecture, different from that of the Hindoos, the descendants of the Aryan race, sufficient to prove, that they were reared by the old Turanian race; and, that they were a people far advanced in civilization. Those old temples, standing in their massiveness and beauty, with their solid granite pillars and columns, on which are carved images of men and beasts as large as life, to which the natives sometimes pointed, saying, "The gods reared those buildings, for you see we could not now do it," attest, that not only are they as old as the pyramids of Egypt, but the greatness of an ancient age, of which there are no written records. And scattered over the plains, and upon the hill tops, are the druidical, or circular stone monuments; similar to those found in England and Scotland, where, in all probability, rests the dust of the sleeping dead of some of the old noble Turanian race. And upon the hills are large flat blocks of granite, twelve feet in length, by five feet in breadth, resting on similar slabs set up edgewise, forming an open space within, which the natives now call, "The dwellings of the old giants." Scattered over the same plains and hills are numerous remains of old earthen

fortifications, which mark the struggle for supremacy between the two races, concerning which the present inhabitants can tell nothing.

In the "*Rig-Vedäs*," the oldest of their sacred writings, though the Hindoos, in the one thousand hymns of which it is composed, give no account of their origin or history, there are passages which render it very evident, that about the time of the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt, one of the Aryan tribes, which dwelt on the mountains of Persia, moved south-east, crossed the northern mountain boundary of India, and settled along the Indus. For, in these sacred hymns, we hear them sighing on those burning plains, for the coolness of the northern clime, for the frost and snows, and life-giving breezes of their own native mountain home. They lament, that the warm southern sun was tinging their fair complexion, and marring their native beauty; and in this, their sad distress, they sent up this prayer to the god of rain for relief: "Sindhu, renowned bestower of wealth, hear us, and bring water to our broad fields." One thousand years later than this, the poets and historians of Greece sang and wrote concerning the Sindhus of the far off east, and from which we have the modern word Hindoo.

While the Hindoos were thus sighing on these scorched plains of India, they dwelt in tents; but they found there a people dwelling in substantial houses, amidst palm and cocoa-nut groves. They had herds of cattle, humped oxen, horses and camels; they lived in villages, they had artificers in iron, in copper, and in gold; they had chariots of war, and tame elephants, with which to fight their battles. Their women, besides doing their household work, could spin and weave, and were styled, "The light of the dwelling." Neither were they denied the privilege of acquiring knowledge. The baneful influence of caste was then unknown, and the Brahmins were but one of several orders of priests. They then had but thirty-three gods, who were thus invoked: "Gods who are eleven in heaven, eleven in earth, and who are eleven dwelling in glory, in mid-air, may you be pleased with our sacrifice!"

The other writings of the *Vedäs* were composed at a later period; one of which, "*The Institutes of Menu*," is supposed to have been written, some five or six hundred years before Christ, about, or near the time, when the Jews were sighing in their Babylonian captivity. It was

during the period which elapsed from the departure of the Israelites from Egypt, until their captivity in Babylon, a space of about seven hundred years ; as we learn by comparing the Vedās with the Bible, that the Hindoos have only grown to be a nation, occupying the northern half of India. For south of this, the inhabitants are described as Barbarians, living in forests, and speaking an unknown language. It was about this period, that the Brahmins set themselves up as a holy, supreme priesthood, adopted a system of caste, and impressed it upon the people. As first originated, there were but four castes, of which the Brahmin stood at the head of the system, and the Pariah at the foot. But these four original castes have, at the present time, branched out into an innumerable number of sub-divisions. It is an inhuman system, that prevents all acts of Samaritan kindness between the members of the different castes. And there is no change from a lower to a higher caste, in time or in eternity, except by a ceremony so costly, that few, if they desired it, could afford the expense, and then it is at the option of the Brahmins.

Thus, the Brahmins, having obtained the complete ascendancy in the Hindoo nation, then occupying the northern part of India, were not long in pressing this Brahminical religion upon all the different inhabitants of that sunny land. For the Aryan race imbued with this religion, as they increased in numbers, spread southward, where they found the Tamulians, far advanced in civilization, with a written language, pronounced by Brace, to be the most flexible of the Turanian race, with a religious system of their own, with their sacred buildings of massive architecture. In their march southward, the feeble tribes of the aborigines, overcome on the plains, fled to the hills, where for the time they may have held out against the conquerors, only at last to succumb ; and, where to this day, they are still found, to tell that the oppressor's heel has been upon them for ages. The Tamulians at last, willingly or unwillingly submitted ; but the Brahmins wisely conciliated them, in engrafting upon their religion the Brahminical, received their gods into their worship, and Minarchy still remained the tutelary goddess of Madura city ; yet, they rigidly enforced upon them, the order of caste. From that time to this, the Brahminical religion has held complete sway over all India, except for a short period, when Buddhism was triumphant. India has suffered from inter-

nal feuds, and from foreign invasions, by Semiramis, by Alexander, by the Moguls, by the Portuguese, by the Dutch, by the French, and by the English, all, except the English, thirsting for gold, and showing little respect for their religion, or sacred temples; their sacred shrines were ravaged and plundered of their untold wealth; for ages, battle after battle has been fought, until millions of human beings have been slaughtered; millions swept away by famine and pestilence, so that the dust of these destroyed millions is mingled with every foot of India's soil.

Poor, bleeding India! What has she not suffered from her enticing wealth, her fertile plains, and her wicked system of religion? She is as old as the Babylonian empire. She has passed through scenes of turmoil, that have swept Nineveh and Babylon from the earth, that have made Egypt "the basest of all kingdoms," that have scattered the Jews over the earth, made Jerusalem desolate, and her children weeping wanderers. But, there she still is, rich in her glorious wealth, in her noble ancestry, looking back to a period in time, in which they were a great and civilized people, when the ancestors of those who now compose the great ruling nations of the earth, were wandering, naked savages. They were a great nation when the pyramids were built, when the temple at Jerusalem was reared; but the once mighty Copts, as a nation, have long since passed away, the temple twice destroyed; but there they still remain, with their grand old sacred shrines, some of them as old as the pyramids, under one rule still, destined, as we trust, to become a great nation under the English government, rising, phoenix-like, from the ashes of their former greatness, baptised into the blessed and ever living spirit of Christianity, when they shall again become one great and mighty nation, as they were under the great, yet cruel Mogul Prince Aurengzebe, but not, like that oppressive fabric, to crumble away.

Though the British rule presses hard upon the people, in the form of taxes, yet it is far better than any they have had for ages before. They are protected in their civil and religious rights, in their person and property. And since the government of the East India Company has been supplanted by that of the Queen and Parliament, they are placed under much more favorable circumstances. The East India Company was a close corporation, despotic and

powerful, seeking their own interests, supported by the arms of England; but the grinding power has passed away. The Queen of England is their sovereign, and Parliament, the supreme authority. This authority in Parliament is lodged in the hands of the Governor-General of India, and his six counselors. But in this, the Hindoos have no voice; taxes are imposed, tariffs are made, and laws promulgated, without even the wishes of the people being consulted, and often contrary to their wishes. The Governor-General has a salary of \$125,000 per annum, with an additional \$50,000 for the entertainment of guests. His six counselors receive each \$40,000 per annum. And the Lieut.-Governor \$50,000, and several secretaries each \$24,000 per annum. The Governors of the several Presidencies, as that of Bombay, Madras, Bengal, the Punjab, and the north-western Provinces, receive each \$50,000 per annum. All this amount, and more, is drawn out of the poor natives, falling most heavily upon the Ryots. So that the receipts of the governments are \$220,000,000 and the expenses about the same. Of this large amount of receipts, only \$3,370,000 are spent in education, in a population of 180,000,000. Yet, small as this sum is, it is nevertheless doing good; that, together with the railroad system, (for there are now about 6000 miles of railroad completed in India,) is breaking up their system of caste, which for ages has been an incubus to all proper conception of the improvement of life; they begin to see that the world does move. The learned Brahmins, however, instead of embracing the truth as it is in Jesus, are fast drifting into the dreary, chilling shades of infidelity in all its modern phases.

Let us briefly examine their religious system, as it once lay in the shell, as it burst forth, and increased to its present dimensions of 330,000,000 of gods. The great eternal is called Brahm; to him are assigned all the attributes which the Bible ascribes to Jehovah. Yet their ideas of him are vague and unsatisfying, chilling to a soul, which desires a being on whom to rest, and feels that there is a sympathetic cord of beating love, of controlling care, and earnest interest between them. He is now, so far as man is concerned, a cold abstraction, a speculative theory, indifferent to all affairs; man, his creature, a part of himself, may suffer, but he sympathizes not with him; he may be in distress, but he does not assist him, he neither

bleses, nor prospers the well-doing, nor inflicts punishment upon the wicked. The wheels of nature may all go wrong, but he seems to know it not. It is related, that at one time, in the midst of his ages of listless sleep, he awoke to consciousness, and feeling a desire, said, "Let us make money;" hence, he is then represented, as a spider sitting in the centre, spinning his threads from himself, fastening them right and left in this great shell of Hindooism, a perfect system of Pantheism. All that was to come into existence was contained in this shell, in the form of an egg, under the care of a supreme, in the person of Brahma. 300,000,000 of years this egg was floating, as a bubble, on the mighty chaos, before it came to perfection. When this time arrived, it burst, and Brahma sprang forth, terrible in appearance; and another being came forth from the matter of which all was made; then Brahma disappeared from the scene of action, sank back again to his unconscious sleep; a blessed sleep, to which it is the bliss of a good Hindoo to aspire, to be absorbed back into Brahma; and thus this great eternal Brahma will sleep until the time of the dissolution, when he will again be active. Hence, to his name no temple will be reared, no sacrifice offered, no worship given; he is now the great sleeping unknown. His power is only seen and felt through the great Hindoo Triad, Brahma the creator, Vishnu the preserver, and Siva the destroyer. Herbert Spencer, in his Philosophy, has a triad somewhat similar to this, and certainly not any more consistent than this. He says: "Matter which is eternal and indestructable, motion which is continued, and force which is persistent, are the modes of working, by which all things, of which we are conscious, were evolved by the unknowable. Persistent force, the great ultimatum of all things thus evolved, will continue until they reach an equilibrium, then they will decline to a dissolution, to be again evolved into a new series." Of these two somewhat speculative systems in accounting for all things, the Hindoo seems the most consistent; Mr. Spencer has not improved upon it.

From this great Brahm egg came forth the matter of which three worlds were formed; the uppermost, that of the gods; the middle, that of men; the undermost, that of demons. The earth is arranged as that of a flat surface, in the form of a water lily, 400,000,000 of miles in

circumference, in seven islands, each surrounded by a sea. The first, by a sea of salt water; the second, by a sea of the juice of sugar cane; the third, by a sea of spiritual liquors; the fourth, by a sea of clarified butter; the fifth, by a sea of sour milk; the sixth, by a sea of sweet milk; the seventh, by a sea of sweet water; and, beyond all this, there is a fine land of gold, inaccessible to man; and far beyond it, the land of darkness, or hell. This earth, thus formed, rests beautifully on a snake with a hundred heads, and this snake is nicely coiled on the back of a tortoise. In the center of the earth, at the north is a mountain 200,000 miles high, around which the sun revolves, producing day and night, with a golden summit, the residence of Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva; at the foot of this mountain, are three smaller ones; also a Mango tree, spreading out in extent two thousand miles, bearing delicious fruit, full of nectar, some of them one hundred feet in diameter. There, delightful fragrance from the rose, the lily and other flowers, perfumes the air. All these things are manifestations of Brahma, he is in everything.

This, in brief, is the great ground work of Hindooism; upon this, they have philosophised and built, until from one eternal god Brahm, they obtained, as emanations three gods, Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva; these branched out, as we have seen in that tribe of the Aryan race, shortly after their settlement upon the plains of India, into thirty-three gods, and from this, finally from the different tribes of the Turanian race, and from other sources, as it suited them, they have added, until their present number is the sum of 330,000,000. They truly have gods many, and lords many; every manifestation of nature, animate and inanimate, is the eternal, and why not a god to worship?

When stripped of all its specious philosophy, and presented in its naked aspect, it is purely Pantheistic and Materialistic, for all is to return at last to the great Brahm, now unconscious; and to be absorbed back again soon in him, is a bliss for which man is to labor, for which their devotees strive, to have a repose that neither knows, nor feels. What is it but a materialistic extinction?

Hindoostan is a country of larger extent than is generally supposed; from the mountains on the north, to Cape Comorin on the south, it is one thousand eight hundred miles; and from the Bay of Bengal on the east, to the Indian Ocean on the west, it is one thousand five hundred

miles; and contains a dense population of 180,000,000. That part lying contiguous to the Himalaya mountains on the north, is rugged and hilly, among which are some lovely and beautiful valleys, such as Bootan and Cashmere. A range of mountains also extends along the western coast, commencing not far from Cape Comorin in the south, and extending northward several hundred miles, rising in some places to the height of ten thousand feet. The remainder of India is generally a level plain, sometimes sandy and arid, between which are spread rich and fertile vales, especially along, and near the rivers, a loam soil from one to six feet deep. These plains, at least in the southern part, are generally destitute of timber, except here and there a jungle; and then interspersed over the clear and cultivated fields, to break the lone monotony, are beautiful groves of palm, cocoanut, mango, and tamarind trees, where beautiful birds of different colors sing, parrots chatter, crows caw, monkeys play their antic tricks, and from the decayed roots of some Banyan tree, or cactus hedge, the Cobra lifts its hooded head, and shakes its forked tongue. These groves are beautiful in appearance, the supposed dwelling places of the gods; here are their temples, their idols, their altars, garden plots, where flowers are cultivated, which, entwined in garlands, adorn their grim, oil-blackened images. They are lovely spots, where a weary traveler can rest, protected from the burning heat of a tropical sun, quench his thirst, and wash the dust from his feet in a tank of water in their midst; yet he must be on his guard from the venomous reptiles, that love these beautiful haunts. Also, to break the monotony of these level plains, here and there, as if from some former mighty internal convulsion, when the great Brahma shook himself, huge rocks were forced up, rearing their tops from fifty to two hundred feet above the level ground; upon the same, is often a fort, a temple sacred to some god; under their shadow a cooling shade, the weary pilgrim, if not disturbed by the flapping wings of numberless large bats, which have found a home in the projecting clefts, can lie down and rest, and experience the delight of the Psalmist, "The shadow of a great rock in a weary land."

The climate of the southern part of India is exceedingly hot; during the most of the year there is no winter, spring or autumn. It is divided into the hot and rainy seasons. For six months in the year, the wind blows steadily from

the southeast; for the next six months, from the southwest. The changing of these winds, is what is called the setting in of the monsoon; and it is sometimes a grand, but terrible sight, when the southeastern monsoon bursts upon the plains of India, lying upon the western shores of the Bay of Bengal. The elements often wage a mighty, and sometimes a destructive war; the lightnings flash, the thunders roll, the wind, rising from a gale to a tempest, howls through the swaying, tossing tops of the tall palm and cocoanut trees, and sometimes rises to a tornado, demolishing the frail houses of the natives, prostrating the beautiful groves, leaving nothing behind it, but ruin and desolation; while the rain pours down in torrents, only as it can, in a tropical clime, raising the mountain streams to overflow the plains, and filling the numerous tanks. There is not, as a general thing, one continued rain, but a succession of heavy showers, with alternate sunshine. Parched nature then lifts her thirsty, drooping head, and sends her pæan of praise to the rain-giving Supreme. It is a glad season, when the rain falls in abundance, when the rivers overflow their banks, and the tanks are all full; for then the husbandman has the prospect of a bountiful harvest season. The rains on the eastern coast are generally over in November, and then for three months there is delightful weather, a cloudless sky and refreshing breezes. But after that, the hot season commences, no rain has fallen for months, vegetation on the uncultivated plains is becoming burned up, all that is now green, are the western hills, the groves, the scattered trees, the irrigated fields and gardens; the winds begin to sweep the plain with a withering, scorching blast, as if it came from the mouth of a burning oven; then we droop by day in our houses, with grass tatties up at the doors and windows wet with water, the thermometer within, one hundred and ten degrees, and the night still warm. Sometimes in May and June there are refreshing showers, after the wind has shifted around to the southwest.

Dindegul, where I spent eight years of my life, is a village of about six thousand inhabitants, and takes its name from a large rock one hundred feet high, upon which is a fort, garrisoned by native soldiers, commanded by an English officer. Dinde, is *large*, gul, a *rock*, hence, the name Dindegul, a *large rock*. Under my care here, was a boarding school of boys, about forty in number, with a teacher,

who was a Hindoo-Britain. Every morning they came on my veranda for family prayers, in the Tamil language, and once a week for examination. The territory, that was within my diocese, lay partly upon the hills, fourteen miles west of Dindegul, and partly on the plains, at the base of these hills, extending south, down the valley ninety miles. Over this territory I itinerated, preached, and talked with the natives, under the shade of the trees about their villages. I studied their character, their customs, their habits, sympathized with them in their trials; they always treated me with respect, and I felt safe among them, sleeping in tents, and bungalows. The Hindoos are a mild, inoffensive race, exceedingly indolent, superstitious, licentious, and prone to lying and thieving. Yet, they are susceptible of good impressions from the Gospel, for, on leaving India, I left some five hundred under Christian instruction, and a church with eighty-three members, mostly gathered by my humble efforts. The Moosmen are savage, revengeful, bigoted, and gladly would they wield that same power, which they once exercised; but the sceptre of their authority in southern India departed from them, when the English arms defeated Tipoo Siab, the son of Hydra Alla. And the only mementoes of their past greatness at Dindegul, are the ruins of the old palace, and a neat, chaste looking mosque, in a beautiful garden of palm, cocoanut, guava trees, over the remains of Hydra Alla's sister.

Do you desire to learn something of a Hindoo's home, his household furniture, his domestic habits, his food, his manner of eating? Come with me to yonder village, at the edge of that cocoanut grove. As we approach the village, just at the entrance, is a large olive tree, with its beautiful dark green foliage; around its venerable trunk is a raised platform of large stones, filled in with earth; here the men of the village congregate to lounge and to chat; here the headmen of the village decide disputes; here the missionary, after singing a hymn in Tamil, can obtain an audience, to whom, for twenty minutes, he can talk about Jesus. Passing that, without making a salaam to the huge stone idol close by, let us enter the best looking house in the village; its walls are made of mud, now almost as hard as stone, eight feet high; its roof is tiles, burned clay, or more commonly, the palm leaves, or thatched with grass; its length is about twenty feet, its width about ten

feet, with one low door, and one small window; the roof projects in front, forming a narrow veranda, a little elevated from the ground; here they will sit by day, and sleep by night, but oftener, when the weather is dry and hot, they will sleep out in the street, in the front of the house, wrapped in their white clothes, like corpses laid out for burial, as I have frequently seen them, in passing through their villages on a bright moonlight night. There by the door, as you enter, are two round flat stones, that is the family mill, which two women grind, after Scripture fashion; close by is another large flat stone, with a stone roller upon it, designed to grind the curry for a sauce to put upon their rice, such as black and red pepper, coriander seed, cumin, garlic, tamarind; these are put into the gravy of broiled chicken, mutton, or in boiled vegetables, with the meat scraped out from the cocoanut, together with butter, and poured on their rice. This composes a Hindoo's best dish. But stooping, let us enter the door; along one side is a elevated platform, a foot high, three feet in breadth, made of mud; on this platform perhaps, is a grass mat or two, upon which they sit, or lie; to the right of the door, is the cooking place, with the cooking utensils; it is made of mud, with a round hole in the top, in which to set earthen pots over the fire, burning within as an oven, with no chimney for the smoke, it must find its way out as best it can; there stand a half dozen of different sized pots, some on the fire, rice boiling in one, the fowl in another; there is also a large earthen pot with water, which the housewife has brought, perhaps, a half mile distant from the tank, on her head; and there she stands in her native dress, preparing her husband's dinner, who is sitting on the veranda, chatting with a friend; notice the room; it is destitute of furniture; in the wall there are a few little niches, in one is a lamp, an earthen vessel, or half a cocoanut shell, to give light at night; in another, a little brass idol, a household god; in the next room, there are different kinds of grain, to be ground into flour, also rice, and there hangs a bunch of bananas, and a roll of banana leaves, the plates from which they eat their rice and curry; this embraces all that is in a Hindoo's house. Dinner is ready; the husband and his sons are at the door; the wife and mother may be seen pouring water on their hands to wash them, after which, they sit down on the floor; in front of each is a banana leaf, upon which the wife, from a chotty off the fire, with a half cocoanut shell, with a

handle attached to it, is dipping the rice ; then she brings the chotty containing the curry ; the wife and daughters step back, while her husband and sons, with their fingers, roll the rice with the curry, into small balls, and with a quick motion of their right hand, throw them into their mouths ; by them stands a small vessel containing water ; when they desire to drink, taking the vessel in their hands, throwing back their head, opening their mouth, they pour it straight down their throat, never spilling a drop ; it is considered impolite to touch the vessel with the lips. Their dinner ended, they arise and step out, when the obedient wife again pours water upon their hands ; and then with her daughters she sits down, and they take their meal from what remains. They never eat together, they are strangers to the society and enjoyments of a family meal.

Dindegul is delightfully situated on a beautiful elevated plain, surrounded with groves and gardens, somewhat cooler than the low plain, upon which Madura city, forty miles south, stands. West of it, is the range of mountains, which rise up abruptly from the plain, three thousand feet high ; and thirty miles further south they tower up seven thousand feet. As this mountain range lay in my field of labor, I often ascended and traveled over it. To reach the top of the lower range was not very difficult ; but the ascent of the higher range was not so easy. Yet the splendid scenery and delightful climate amply repaid the toil of ascent. Starting in the evening with an ox carriage, I reached the foot of the mountain thirty miles distant, early next morning. The morning dawn revealed its frowning top close at hand, as if desirous of catching the first rays of the morning sun ; a little further through brush, over rocks and stones, brought me close to its foot, in a deep gorge of the mountain that reaches its summit. Here, embowered beneath the foliage of gigantic trees, the teak, the rosewood, and the mango, enlivened by various songsters, engaged in their morning matins, I partook of a morning meal I had brought with me. This finished, I prepared for the ascent ; mounting a small, but sure-footed pack horse, I threaded my way along a narrow path, crossing and recrossing several times a mountain stream, that lashed its waters into foam over its rocky bed, passing under large mango trees, the bending, feathery tops of clumps of bamboos, here and there starting up a partridge, or a jungle fowl ; and as I began to ascend the mountain, I

looked down into the deep valley gorge, where the stream rumbles along, where not only the scream of the pea-fowl could be heard, but where it could be seen expanding its beautiful plumage in the morning sun. The heat began to be intense, but the tall, wide-spreading trees, shielded me from the sun's burning rays. The higher I ascended, the more steep and difficult it became, until nearly half way up, I could trust my pony no longer; sending him back, I traveled on foot the remainder of the way, the air becoming more cool and bracing, I did not feel so fatigued. When about five thousand feet up, the tall timber had dwarfed to stunted trees, with here and there a lonely date, only a few feet high; over all of which I could look down upon the burning plain, presenting its varied tints of green, yellow, red and purple. A short distance further and a sublime sight burst into view; far away up in that deep mountain gorge, where the rocks reared their bold clefts, more than one thousand feet high, over which hung the tall bending grass, the long waving ratan in graceful festoons, with the feathery fern growing in the crevices, started from the very mountain top that stream we had so often crossed; down it leaped a fearful cataract of nearly two thousand feet, thundering and roaring in that mountain gorge, casting up its spray in many beautiful rainbows. It was a sublime spectacle, and long did I gaze upon it; the whole scene around was grand; just across that deep gorge, away out on the points of those rocks, which tower like castles, was nestled a little village. Before me I now looked, but where was the path of ascent? Rocks towered up, seeming to say, "Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further." While thus in a quandry as to where the upward path lay, winding round a huge rock just before me, were some cattle coming down, laden with wheat, ginger, and garlic, for the plains, driven by the hardy mountaineers; passing round that same rock, I wound my zig-zag course up; no trees, scarcely a shrub was to be seen, nothing but towering rocks. When I reached almost the top of those rocks, I passed a terrific precipice, rocks towered on the left, leaving a path of a few feet in width, from a depth below on the right into another mountain gorge, from the one the stream described, into which it requires a steady head to look. It was frightful to gaze thousands of feet into a dense jungle; cattle with their loads sometimes pitch off there, and that

is the last of them; their drivers never go to search for them, or their loads, they make a feast for the tiger, the spotted cheetah, the bear, and the jackal, that glory in that lofty home, that dense jungle, far away below my feet, where, perhaps, the foot of man has never trodden. But a little further, and I reached the mountain's grassy summit, and inhaled the bracing breeze; before me lay a beautiful rolling prairie, clothed with grass; here and there, in shadowed nooks, were small groves of trees, with huge vines intertwining among them; around the outer borders were the Rhododendron, with their clusters of beautiful, showy flowers, of a pale-red color; there the large black monkeys hold their jubilee of freedom; there the fierce tiger finds his home for a season, to prey on numerous wild cattle, elk and deer, that graze on that lovely prairie land. It is a charming place, the climate so bracing, and well worth a trip of five miles up that mountain to enjoy. The frost is never so severe as to destroy vegetation, yet the air is cool enough to build a blazing fire upon the hearth in the house, and for a covering of thick clothing. Here the peach, the pear, the apple, the strawberry, the raspberry, and the blackberry, come to perfection; the fruits of the tropic and temperate zones are growing at a distance of five miles from each other; and, here too, is the cooling water from the bubbling springs, which we have not on the sandy plain.

Here is a brow of the mountain, called by the missionaries, "Mount Nebo," and the plain extending from that mountain's base to the Bay of Bengal. Along this mountain is a lovely valley, for forty miles, fed by numerous mountain streams; with a winding, silvery, increasing flow, is the river Viga; just down there is the spot, where the noble young missionary, Scudder, was drowned, in attempting to cross it in a flood; it makes a short turn, instead of flowing further north, it changes its course southeast, winding its way slowly along the plain, until it enters the Bay of Bengal, or in the hot season, is lost in the sand. Its banks on each side for miles are skirted with groves of different kind of trees, fields of grain, watered by its numerous canals and tanks, villages every few miles distant, embowered in groves of palm and cocoanut trees, as far as the eye can catch a glimpse of the earth's surface. Forty miles distant lies Madura city, with her many pagodas

and minarets, containing fifty thousand inhabitants. In the fields men, women and children are busy, some gathering the grain, others threshing it out, some winnowing it, by tossing it up in the air; others drawing water, by treading on the lower end of a slanting beam, to irrigate their fields, while others are lounging in the shade of banyan and fig trees, or moving hither or thither. There to the right is a massive temple, its pagoda towering above the green trees, which surround it; there is a little speck on the surrounding sandy plain; it moves; it is a naked devotee rolling himself around that temple, a distance of more than a mile, with the blood oozing from his cut and lacerated wounds. To the left, almost at the foot of the hill, is another temple in the midst of tulip trees; there is a group of young men wreathed with flowers, three small iron rods thrust through the flesh on each side; to the music of the tom-tom, the flageolet, or the cymbal, they are dancing around that temple, fulfilling a vow, made in sickness to that goddess, who has given them health again. In front of that same temple, numerous fine fat cattle are led up to the altar, where a man with a cleaver, besmeared with blood, severs the head from the body, as they are brought up, others throw them in a deep hole, dug near by, where their bodies are covered over and left to rot, an offering to the cruel, blood-thirsty Kali.

There also is another temple, massive in its structure, at which there is an annual festival; there assembled is a vast crowd of Hindoos; there is the car, rising up in the form of an inverted pagoda, to the height of twenty feet; under it are wheels; to the axle of the fore wheels are attached long ropes; flowers, in fantastic wreaths and festoons, drop down from the gorgeous, and often obscene, carvings on the body of the car; its covering is in pagoda form, glittering in gold tinsel and waving flags; beneath this covering, on a magnificent throne, sits the idol god, dressed in rich apparel, holding in his hand the emblem of his authority; eyes has he, but he sees not, ears has he, but he hears not, a mouth has he, but he speaks not, yet that senseless crowd tremble before him, as they draw him along with these ropes. Beneath your eye lie loveliness and cruelty, sublimity and heart-sickening scenes; loveliness and sublimity, for there is nature in all her grandeur, a splendid panorama of grove, of cultivated field, of hill, of rock, of tank, where the beautiful lotus and water lilies

bloom. But there, beneath those trees, on those towering rocks, along the banks of that beautiful river, are performed cruel rites, dark, disgusting deeds, which make the ear tingle and the heart faint. Ponder the history of a great, civilized people, without the Bible. Consider what the Bible has done for us, whose ancestors only a few hundred years ago, were wandering savages. Say to the infidel, the sceptic, the speculative philosopher, destroy what you will, but do not attempt to destroy the confidence of the people in that blessed book. It is the great charter of our life, the ark of our safety, for this life and the life which is to come.

ARTICLE XI.

THE MUSIC AND SONG OF THE AGES.

By T. H. ROBINSON, D. D., Harrisburg, Pa.

"Where wast thou when I laid the foundation of the earth, when the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy?" Earth's history began in song. So shall it end: in the song of that great multitude, that no man can number. Who shall stand by the sea of glass mingled with fire, wearing the priestly robes of festival, and victors' crowns, and with the harps of God in their hands, lifting up the undying chorus of a finished redemption?

We purpose to follow the track of song and melody, from that fountain-head of song in Eden, along through the ages, down to our own day. The field is, however, so extensive, that we are compelled to limit our investigations. Music and Song take on three prominent types: 1. of love, and home, and social life; 2. of war; 3. of religion. We must confine ourselves mainly to the last.

The accents of the first singers have not reached us. Of the modes of worship in the old patriarchal times, we know but little. But music and song were there. It was surely not in the city of Cain, that the voice of singing

was heard. Our first father lived long enough to hear his ingenious sons piping, on harp and horn, their ante-diluvian melodies. Jubal was the father of all such as handle the harp and organ. But, if the tents of sin resounded with unhallowed music and mirth, surely, the abodes of the righteous were not wholly silent.

After the universal hymn of Eden was broken, and the joyous song of creation fell into a mournful minor, the wail of human sin and sorrow running across all its harmonies, the first golden wave of promise, that struck on the desolate heart of man, must have re-awakened the echoes of the angels' song. Yet we are left to conjecture. A long silence reigns in the hymn-book of the first centuries. There are records of violence and judgment, of the flood and the ark, of patriarchal tent and Egyptian bondage, but the only song of that earliest age, that has floated down to us, is the wail of the murderer Lamech, to his wives Adah and Zillah. We read of altar and sacrifice, of meditations in the field at eventide, of visions and prayers, and accepted intercessions, and we feel confident that they, who walked like Enoch and Abraham with God, must have had their hearts kindled into music. The tents of the wicked were full of dancing, and mirth, and song. But not these alone. The groves were God's first temples, and up through those leafy cathedrals, rose the simple lays of early faith, breathing amid the gray old trunks, that high in heaven mingled their mossy boughs, their hopes of forgiveness and peace. From the green earth, rising out of the flood, from the ark lifted upon the waters, from the shadow of the great oak of Mamre, from the fountains, and valleys, and hill-side pastures, where the tents of the patriarchs rose white amidst their flocks, from the garrisons and palaces of Egypt, doubtless, the song arose, though our ears listen in vain for the echo of it.

The first recorded hymn of the Bible, is the national thanksgiving anthem, which was sung on the eastern shore of the Red Sea. As the waves of the sea rolled back to their ancient tide-mark, burying under them the hosts of the enemies of God and of Israel, above the ripple and the roar of the clashing waters, Miriam and the stately maids of Judah, leading the voices, and the cymbals, and the harps of the millions of Israel, sang the requiem of Pharaoh and his Memphian chivalry. It was a song of

victory. It was a song of redemption. It was sung to the Lord. It was thus a type of all succeeding Psalms. It was the first hymn of the Church visible, and the notes of that great chant of victory echoed along that crystal sea, over the silent buried dead, out into the stillness of the desert around, down along the track of time, across all the centuries to us, and have gone sounding and echoing on beyond, far beyond us into the depths of eternity. "Who is like unto Thee, O Lord, among the gods: who is like Thee, glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, doing wonders?"

From time to time, throughout the Old Testament, we catch fresh notes of the song. There is the sublime chant of Deborah the prophetess, and the hymn of Hannah. There is the war chant of Jehoshaphat and his army, a hymn of victory, sung in faith before the battle, sung with harp and psalters, and trumpet. There is the song of Hezekiah, sung when he recovered from his sickness, and the psalm of Jonah, sounding up from the depths of the sea. There is the mystical song of songs. The winter is past, the rain is over and gone, the flowers appear on the earth, and the time of singing is come.

There was mournful music by the rivers of Babylon, when the taunting oppressors said to the captive of Judah, Sing us one of the songs of Zion, and there also was the song of liberated Israel, when the walls of Jerusalem again arose, when the singers sang aloud, and they all rejoiced, so that the joy of Jerusalem was heard afar off. And, there too, in that Book which God has caused to be written for us, are the songs of the sweet singers of Israel, the inspired liturgy for all time. Like all other true hymns of the Church militant, these psalms of David rise out of tumultuous depths and soar into the calm light of heaven. They are not soft literary effusions of a sentimental religion; they are battle songs, penned and sung on the battle-field, they are the outbursts of a struggling, fainting, hoping heart, they are sighs of penitence rising heavenward, they are the very words, on which the griefs of repenting sinners, and the joys of exulting believers, have taken wing to God for more than three thousand years. Thus passed the Old Dispensation. Opening with the song of the morning stars, changing too speedily into the wail of sorrow and penitence, yet, everywhere flows the stream of melody, gushing out of loving hearts. Whether in the temple, or

on the battle-field, amid flocks and green pastures, and still waters, or hunted as a stag upon the mountains, the true Church ceased not to sing unto God. And just as the birth day of the first creation was ushered in by the songs of the angels, so the joy of the second and greater birth day, awoke the earth with music, as the song of a great multitude of the heavenly hosts broke on the shepherds keeping watch over their flocks by night. They came to teach the Church once again, the almost forgotten strains of the first hymn: *Glory to God in the highest.*

The first recorded Jewish hymn was chanted by the great Lawgiver and by Miriam, with a nation for the chorus. The first Christian hymn was sung by Mary the mother of Jesus, with no audience but her cousin, the faithful Elizabeth. Yet the thanksgiving of Moses and the magnificat of the Virgin are both alike, strains in the one great song of redemption.

As we follow the stream of inspired melody in the New Testament, we have the natal hymn of the Baptist, when the seal was taken from the lips of Zacharias, and his heart was borne away in gladness over the child of his old age. Then, once again, in that temple, where for centuries no fire from heaven had touched the sacrifice, and no gush of inspiration warmed the icy and formal routine of the services, once again inspired song arose, not from a choir of priestly singers, but from the lips of an old man, who held the infant Saviour in his arms. These hymns of Mary, of Zacharias, and of Simeon, were the matin songs of Christianity, all hymns of triumph. Then as we pass along, we catch notes, now of children singing in the temple, now of the great multitude with the palm branches, anon, a mournful strain from the hymn of the night of trial, then, after the ascension of our Lord, we have a choral burst of praise from the whole assembled Church, as Peter and John came back from their night in prison. Then, from the dungeon in Philippi, we hear Paul and Silas singing praises to God. After this we hear no more, and reverently close the sacred volume, as the songs of heaven are falling from the heights of apocalyptic vision, upon the ear and into the heart of the beloved disciple in Patmos. And that new song, within the gates of pearl, what is it still, but the song of redemption, which Moses and David, and Mary and Simeon, and the early Church sang, the song

that every repenting sinner, and every happy believer still sings, the song of the New Creation.

We pass to the second stage, the psalmody and music of the ancient Christian Church. The Saviour sang with his disciples, and the olive trees heard the murmured notes. The holy example thus set, was not forgotten. Sacred song continued to be a delightful part of social and public worship. From the celebrated letter of Pliny to the emperor Trajan, less than ten years after the death of the apostle John, we learn that the Christians, of that time, were accustomed to meet before day break, to sing hymns to Christ as God. A Christian hymn book existed from the beginning. Two or three hymns of that remote antiquity have come down to us. The *Ter Sanctus*, or Thrice Holy, the *Gloria in Excelsis Deo*, and the *Te Deum Laudamus*, with some modifications, are preserved in Lutheran, Episcopal and Roman Catholic Liturgies, and are undoubtedly very ancient. The strictest research, cannot find conclusively, the time of their production. There exists a tradition, that the *Te Deum*, which is one of the noblest and grandest of human compositions, gushed forth in alternate responses from the lips of two fathers, Ambrose and Augustine, while the former was baptizing the latter. Another evening hymn is considered by many to be the most ancient Christian hymn extant. We give it in a translation. It should be remembered, that poetry in rhyme is of quite modern date. The ancient hymns were sentences, much like our modern chants and anthems.

Let us imagine a little band of persecuted Christians, whom no danger of enemies could deprive of the joys of meeting, gathered at eventide by the side of that river, where the blessed apostle Paul met the first converts of Greece. The sun is setting. The brief twilight is fast fading. The glow of the golden southern day is passing rapidly away, and night, with its silence, dews and stars, is coming on. From that little band, faintly, like the chimes of evening bells, rises on the evening air this sweet song:

Jesus Christ, joyful light of the Holy,
Glory of the immortal, heavenly, blessed Father,
We, coming at the setting of the sun,
Beholding the evening light,
Praise Thee, Father, Son,
And Holy Spirit, God.

Thee, it is meet,
At all hours to praise
With sacred voices, O Son of God,
Who giveth life.
Wherefore the universe glorifieth Thee.

The prevailing mode of singing, for the first three centuries, was congregational. All united their voices in the songs of praise, in strains suited to their ability. The music was, of necessity, rude, simple and inartificial. It appears to have been but a recitative or chant, sung in symphony or unison. The harmony lay not in the blending of different parts, as treble, tenor, alto and bass, but the blending of different voices of men, women and children. Nor should it be forgotten, how God has made the whole human race a vast choir, where the deep bass of a manly voice, the tenderness of woman's and the varying tones of the maiden and the child all blend in sweetest harmony. The early fathers are full and eloquent in praise of the moral power of their psalmody. "Nothing," says Chrysostom, "so lifteth up, and as it were, wingeth the soul, so freeth it from earth, and looseth it from the chains of the flesh, so leadeth it into wisdom, and a contempt for all earthly things, as the choral symphony of a sacred hymn, set in harmonious measure." Augustine also gives an account of the power of music over him, on the occasion of his baptism: "I was transported by the voices of the congregation sweetly singing. The melody of their voices filled my ear, and divine truth was poured into my heart. The sacred flames of devotion burned in my soul, and gushing tears flowed from my eyes. The *Te Deum*, which was very early sung, was at once a hymn, a creed, and a prayer. It is a creed taking wings and soaring heavenward. It is a cloud of incense rising up, and reflecting back on the earth, the radiance of the skies. The burden of the primitive songs and hymns was Christ, the only begotten of the Father. This sacred theme inspired the earliest anthems, was the subject of the sweetest melodies and loftiest strains. They were sung before the devotions of the Church had turned from Christ to Mary. They are full of faith in a personal listening Saviour, as a living, gracious, mighty and beloved Friend. In public devotions, in social circles, around their domestic altars they worshiped Christ, in happy sacred song. In their

daily occupations, they relieved their toils and refreshed their spirits, by renewing the favorite songs of Zion. Persecuted, afflicted, in solitary cells, exiled to foreign lands, shut up in dismal mines, hiding away in caves, led to the martyr's stake, they still sang the Lord's Song. Some of these hymns are so true and tender, so sublime in their simplicity, so full of the sweet repose of faith, and of lowly, happy adoration, that we love to think of them as hymns, to which Paul and John may have listened, may have sung.

We pass on down the stream of time. We have already said the earliest Church music was simple and inartificial, congregational singing in symphony. About this time, the third century, some heretical sects arose along side of the Church, that, in order to draw the people after them, paid great attention to music and hymnology. To supplant the popular hymns of the heretics, and to provide singing that should rival theirs, many orthodox hymns were written, and the office of Cantores, or Psaltai, *i. e.*, conductors of the service of praise, was instituted, and choirs gradually came into vogue. The practice of alternate, or responsive singing was common. The Church began to put off its early simplicity, and develop into a hierarchy. The clergy, thus early, were rising into a despotism in the Church, and they sought to exclude the people from all participation in the services of worship. Congregational singing was banished; the clergy and the choir taking the singing into their own hands. Great attention began to be paid to the requirements of art, and the common people were bidden to be silent. The character of the music rapidly changed. Secular and theatrical melodies were introduced into the churches. As yet, the use of instrumental accompaniments, was tenaciously resisted, and the singing in different parts was not allowed. As early as the year 330, a school for the training of professional church musicians, was opened in Rome. In the heat of the great Arian controversy of the fourth century, bands of orthodox and Arian choristers were formed to perambulate the streets of Constantinople, singing hymns upon the rival doctrines, in imitation of the processional singing of the pagans. This was done to indoctrinate the people. It was at this period, that Ambrose, of Milan, arose in western Europe, and introduced a new kind of

Psalmody, the *Cantus Ambrosianus*, or Ambrosian Chant. For modulation, aptness and beauty, it far surpassed anything that had yet been known. It is very difficult at this day, perhaps, wholly impossible to reproduce anything in the exact style of one of those ancient chants.

If we turn from the music to the hymns of that age, we begin to discover some sad changes, creeping silently and stealthily in. The fervent, tender, childlike hymns of the first three centuries, that only spoke of Jesus, the Saviour, the Friend, the Master, the merciful, loving, holy Sufferer for us, begin already to be displaced by hymns commemorative of martyrs and just men; hymns that speak of the Virgin mother, hymns for feast days and fast days. As yet, indeed, the name of Jesus is above every name; as yet, the martyrs and saints of heaven seem to be sitting on the steps only of his glorious throne, but the whole order of the Church begins to turn its face from Christ, towards his creatures. The trust in the Lamb of God alone, dies silently out of them, giving way to invocations of Mary.

We now approach the middle ages, the ages of chivalry and the crusades, of massive Gothic architecture and the feudal system. But just before we reach that strange and wonderful age of everything romantic, of heroes and heroines, we pass through a border-land, filled with troubadours and love songs, knights errant and tournaments, of rich wild border minstrelsy—a land full of legends, the heroic age of a false Christianity, as the age of Hector and Priam was the heroic age of Troy and Greece. The heroes of the age are canonized saints, and they are an army counted and memorialized by tens of thousands. Passing across the stage before our eyes as we look back on the age, we behold the motliest group of all the centuries, emperors and kings, popes and cardinals, prefects and dukes, monks and nuns, consuls and counts, peers and paladins, caliphs and empresses, troubadours and rhetoricians, the demon Minerva and the saint Rhadegunda, with other demons and other saints innumerable, moving about amongst each other, with all that easy familiarity, with which the strangest beings are mingled in our wildest dreams. These were the golden days of legend, yet they were days of disorder and wretchedness extreme. Wild Gothic hosts were plundering Lombardy and Gaul. Northern pirates were invading and desolating England, and all the shores of Europe. A fierce torrent of Vandal and Saracen swelled up from the

south. The wretched population were tossed helplessly to and fro. Rival popes and rival bishops sought each other with very carnal weapons, and fulminated at each other terrible bulls. The imperial institutions of Rome had crushed out the old national republican life, and now, these in their turn, were crumbling into dust. Many thoughtful men, during these centuries, from the seventh to the eleventh, believed they were the last days. In the beginning of the seventh century, Gregory the Great, the Pope of Rome, introduced into the churches a new style of Church music. Already processions, in which the Gospels, costly crucifixes and banners, torches and burning candles, relics, bits of the true cross, pictures and bones of the saints, were carried about and hymns sung, had become a regular ceremony, occurring at stated times. The litanies consisted of invocations of saints and angels, to which the people made response, *Ora pro nobis*, which was the extent of their singing. Gregory undertook to reform the music of the Church, which had degenerated into a style too lively, and theatrical and sentimental for Church music. He introduced what has been known from his day to the present, as the Gregorian Chant, or the *Cantus Romanus*. The music was symphonous, slow, solemn, and measured, yet without rhythm or time. He devised a special kind of notation to indicate the tones, a curious compound of points and strokes, and little hooks. It had little of the liveliness and the freshness of the music then in vogue, but from its more solemn and dignified character, was better adapted for worship. It was sung by trained choirs. Singing schools were established, to introduce the new chanting and fit choirs, and the Pope, Gregory himself, taught in them. Instrumental accompaniments were introduced, especially the organ, which was transferred from the theatre to the church. It was, however, quite a serious objection to the Gregorian music, that on account of its complicated character, a good proficient in music could scarcely master it by diligence and skill, in less than ten years. But a few professional singers could bear part in it. The common people were utterly excluded. It was enough for them to listen. An ecclesiastical ban lay upon them. The *Anti-phonarium*, or hymn book, was taken wholly out of their hands, and retained by the priests and choristers. A hymn book is a dangerous weapon to priestcraft and absolutism, when put in the hands of the people.

"Let me write the songs of a nation," some one has said, "and I care not, who make their laws." An unsinging and unmusical and unpoetic people, are fit only to be the slaves of civil and hierarchal despotism.

The Gregorian style of music could not maintain itself. It was too difficult. Trained and competent singers were too few. The hymn books were too expensive. The slow chant in unison, began gradually to give way to more rapidly moving duets. Definite rules of harmony, of chords and intervals, were framed. The organ came generally into use. The first one brought to France, was a present from the emperor of Turkey to king Pepin. The second, was a present to Charlemagne the great. The first organs were very imperfect. They had only ten or twelve notes, and the keys required to be struck with the fist.

As we leave the times of Charlemagne, Bernard and the venerable Bede, and walk forward into the denser darkness of the middle age, the character of music and hymns changes still further. The music becomes more and more dramatic. The cathedral is transformed into a theatre, in which priests and monks and nuns are the actors, and the people, the astonished, captivated audience. Dramas were acted on Sundays and holy days, in which noble men and beautiful women, saints and holy virgins, were represented as in conflict with power, cruelty and fate. And, whereas, the modern drama usually ends with a marriage of the hero and the heroine, the religious dramas of the mediæval age lauded the hero in some monkery, and the heroine in some nunnery, as if that were the earthly end of human existence. Thus, the Christian Church became both the theatre and the temple of the people. These religious dramas were acted out with all the scenic preparation of the stage, and became a powerful rival for any regular and professedly worldly entertainments. When, at length, in order to increase their power and popularity, the actors appealed to the passions, degenerated the tragedy into comedy, and mingled with the most sacred subjects coarse buffoonery and unrestrained fun, indignant and insulted religion could bear it no longer, and with a whip of cords drove it out, as Christ, the buyers and sellers of the ancient temple.

Let us introduce you into one of the cathedrals of those ages, and to the worship of the gathered assembly. The immense and glorious building is itself a solemn sounding

psalm. As one enters the massive archway of the door, and looks forward, a solemn awe falls upon him. The building recedes away in long narrow avenues, and rises in its roof to a majestic height. Its almost interminable length vanishes away in most graceful prospective, as if leading the worshiper onward into some Holy of Holies. Stately divisions, with countless chapels, successions of concentric arches, crossing and intermingling, the avenues lined with symmetrical pillars, the heavy massive walls expanding into large, mullioned and stained windows, or concealed by paintings of the masters, the niches crowded with statues of worshipful saints, and array, above all rising as if into the very heavens, the vaulted roof formed of most simple, yet intricate ribs. The entire structure is arranged to inspire awe and reverence. And when the music of the *Te Deum*, on some grand and massive organ is struck, it soars upward, pervades the whole building, echoes and re-echoes, infinitely multiplying itself, as it dies and rises again to the fretted and lofty roof, and the incense curling up into the unmeasurable height, mingled with the echoing music, might well give to the enthusiastic beholder the notion of clouds of adoration finding their way to heaven. In such a temple, what space for endless variety, for change of scene, for stage effect! How effective the light and shade even by daylight, how much more so heightened at night by an infinity of lamps, and torches and tapers, now pouring their full effulgence on some one object—the Christ on the cross—or a painting of angels on the walls, and now sending their feeble glimmering into the deep gloom of the recesses, arches and roof. In such a place a vast congregation is assembled. They are ignorant, superstitious, impressible. The drama for this Sabbath is "The Massacre of the Innocents." Amid the deep reverberating tones of the organ, a procession of innocents, children clothed in white robes, march in long lines, through the long cloister of the monastery, chanting as they go: How glorious is Thy Kingdom! Send down, O God, Thy Lamb! The Lamb immediately appears, a man with a banner, bearing in his arms a lamb, takes his place at their head, leading up and down the aisles in long gleaming procession. Herod, clad in all the splendors of barbaric and oriental attire, is seen seated on a throne near by. A squire appears and hands him his sceptre, chanting: "On the throne of David." In the meantime an angel, in the person of

one of the monks, alights upon the manger singing, Joseph, Joseph, Joseph, thou son of David, take thou the child, and flee into Egypt. Weep not, O Egypt! Herod's armor bearer steps forward and informs him of the departure of the wise men, whereat he bursts into a great wrath. While he is raging, the children, representing the Innocents of Bethlehem, are still following the steps of the lamb, and sweetly chanting: "Oh Lamb, who by thy holy death for us, glory of the Father, glory of the Virgin." Herod delivers the fatal sword into the hands of the armor bearer. The lamb is silently withdrawn. The children remain in their fearless and happy innocence, singing, "Hail Lamb of God, O hail!" The cry of mothers is now heard, imploring mercy. The children are slain and fall in the aisles. While they are dying, and while they lie dead, another angel descends, chanting, "Ye who dwell in the dust, awake and cry aloud." The dead innocents respond as if from the tomb: "Why, O God, dost not thou defend us from bloodshed!" The angels chant in response: "Wait but a little time, till your number is full." Then enters Rachel, weeping for her children, and refusing to be comforted. The musical dialogue between her and her attending women, is simple, wild and pathetic: "Alas, alas, alas, how shall I rejoice, while I behold these slain? *Noli, Virgo Rachel, noli, dulcissima mater*—Restrain, O Rachel, sweet mother, thy tears of grief from the necks of these little ones." As they lead off the sad mother, an angel hovering above, sings the antiphone, or response: Suffer little children to come unto me. At this voice the children rise from the tombs, the aisles, enter the choir, and take up the triumphant song of Heaven. Herod disappears. Archelaus takes the throne. The angel is heard summoning Joseph from Egypt. Joseph comes forward, chanting a hymn to the Virgin mother. The cantor of the Church intones the *Te Deum*, the massive organ sends its pealing, trembling, thundering tones through aisles, and recesses, and arches, up to the vaulted roof, and the whole vast cathedral rings with the harmony, and as it ceases, the awe-struck, profoundly agitated hearers retire silently from the scene.

It will easily be seen from this brief episode, with what spirit and wonderful effect sacred representations were given in the Middle ages. There was no event of sacred history, however solemn, that was not in this manner wrought

into action for the purpose of impressing the ignorant people and tightening the chains of spiritual despotism.

As we pass to consider the characteristics of the hymns of those ages, one painfully impressive fact meets us at the outset, that a full, swelling tide of Mariolatry flows through them. They worshiped and served the creature more than the Creator. There are a few hymns to God the Father, a few to Christ, but the general mass are invocations to Mary and the saints. The worship of Mary was the grand characteristic worship, and it had gathered to itself the warmest affections of the heart. In the earliest hymns a trace of this is visible. It stole insensibly into the Church. Her first lustre was natural. As mother of Jesus she must stand chief among women. Out of this gradually grew the loftier title, Mother of God, with which she was early honored. Then another, wide-spread and pernicious practice contributed to swell the tide of Mariolatry, and the adoration of Mary, the Mother of God, was absorbed in that of St. Mary the virgin. Gradually, one title after another was lavished upon her. Tradition dressed her earthly life in a false history, wove a gorgeous robe around her that hid the lowly and feminine life of the true Mary, and, instead of the meek and humble form and quiet spirit that meets us in the Gospel, there stands before us in the Mediæval hymns, a queen; arrayed in vulgar gold and earthly jewels, a glittering, tinselled goddess, as magnificent as any Venus or Minerva of old. The piety and religion of the age lived, luxuriated in these hymns. Mary usurped the place of her divine Son, nor his alone, but of the whole Trinity. The love of God the Father was forgotten in the tenderness of Mary, Mother, Queen of heaven. The Redeeming sorrows of Christ, the Son, were eclipsed by the sympathetic sorrows of the pierced heart of Mary. The consolations of the Comforter were cold beside the pity of Mary, sweet virgin, star of the sea. The relations of the three persons of the Godhead, were transferred to her. She was Mother, Intercessor and Comforter—a trinity in unity for the Church. The first lisplings of the child, the morning and evening hymn, the cry of the distressed, and the thanksgiving of the rescued, were all for Mary. Century after century added stones to the altar of her superstitious worship, until she who was once known only as a joyful mother, with the infant Jesus in her arms, stood on the facade of all the churches, and in the hearts

of all the worshipers a crowned queen, her hands outstretched to bless, concentrating upon her person, all the glory of the Trinity above, and all the adoration of humanity below! Yet, out of the chaos, and darkness, and superstition of the middle ages, and their religion, there are occasional gleams of light. As to the old voyager, in the vast interminable ocean, if he beheld on some dreary mass of rock, a batch of living green, a tuft of graceful trees, a cool and musical rush of waters, it became at once a paradise, and is described as one of the elysian fields, so does one feel, who, traversing the dreary wastes of the mediæval age, so full of legends, of spiritual and sentimental love songs, of Mariolatry and priest-craft, of comedies on sacred things, hears suddenly, he scarcely knows whence, a single voice, rising low and trembling, so soft and low, that it is scarcely heard at first, yet gathering clear, and deep, and sonorous, till it echoes down the arches as an organ, and rolls, vibrating the whole heart of Christendom with the solemn and magnificent chant of the great Mediæval hymn, the *Dies Iræ*—a lyric that lifts one up, as on mighty wings.

Our next stage brings us into the great Reformation, the richest field of all the past in music and song. One of the first symptoms of that great awakening was the revival of a taste and a demand for religious songs in the vernacular tongue. Heretofore the singing had been confined to the clergy and the choir and the Latin language. It was in the fifteenth century and during the Hussite movement that useful popular hymns were for the first time introduced into the service of the Church. Their introduction was facilitated by two strange instruments, first by the minne-singers, or love-singers, who perambulating the country, and singing their love ditties, gave the people a thirst for singing: and secondly, by a body of fanatics, called flagellants, who in long trains, with faces covered, wandered from country to country, amid weeping and lamentations, and the chant of penitential hymns, continually applying, as they marched, the scourge to their naked backs. They grew in numbers like an avalanche, and passed through a large part of Europe. Their strange, wild hymns, in the native tongue, seized the hearts of the people, and paved a way for the psalm of the Reformation. Huss insisted on the people taking part in the service of song, and himself composed a number of excellent hymns.

At first, so difficult was it to abandon the Latin, we find a number of hymns, half Latin and half German. Congregational singing was again revived. The ancient Ambrosian psalmody, in a purer and richer form, was given to the people. The choir of priests was dissolved. Instead of solo monotonous singing in uniform loud notes of equal value, a copious rhythm with lively modulations was substituted, and about the close of the fifteenth century, singing in parts, took the place of singing in unison. The air was sung by the congregation, and the singers in the choir accompanied the congregation in the several parts. The air, however, was set in tenor, which was the leading part of music. The tunes were obtained by modifying old tunes, by appropriating national airs of the middle ages, and using, without reserve, the rich treasure of song-tunes in popular use. Many of the hymns were parodies of secular songs, the love songs of the minne-singers. Thus, the popular ditty, sung by wandering apprentices, which commenced: *Inspruck, I must leave thee, and go my lonely way, far hence, to foreign lands,* was transformed into: "O world, I must leave thee, and go my lonely way, unto my Father's Home." When Luther composed his melodies, the people were taught them by traveling musicians, singing processions of school boys and city cornet-teers. The Papal Church sought to prevent the singing. But, wherever the spirit of the Reformation went, there flowed the torrent of song. The demand for hymns and music was sudden, and the result of no visible design. It almost preceded the labors of the Reformers, and did more than preaching to inculcate religious truth. Europe, almost in an instant, was full of songs and singing, as if an epidemic had broken out. The rise of the phenomenon in the Reformed Churches was remarkable. Clement Marot, a valet of the bed chamber of king Francis the first, and the favorite poet of France, tired of the vanities of the reigning poetry, and tintured slightly with Protestantism, applied to his friend Theodore Beza, for assistance in rendering David's Psalms into French rhymes. This was in 1540. The amorous ditties of Marot had been the delight of the French Court. He dedicated his version of the Psalms to the ladies of France, and apologized for presenting such an offering to their taste. It seems with him to have been a mere freak of poetic license,

an experiment. But the most sanguine Reformer could not have indulged anticipations equal to the reality. His previous contributions to the polite literature of the day were forgotten in the enthusiasm, with which the court of France received these versions from the Hebrew Psalter. The press was burdened to meet the demand. All classes were eager to purchase. In the festive and splendid court of France, of a sudden, nothing was heard but the Psalms of Clement Marot. They were the accompaniment of the fiddle, if not of the dance. The members of the royal family, high-born ladies and lords, would each select a psalm, and fit it to the ballad which each liked best. They were the fashion, the rage, and did not seem at all to interfere with the humor and gaiety of the Court. It was a strange sight, the Psalms of David turned into ballads, and sung in gay and royal assemblies, in the place of love songs. But the Providence of God was in it. Just at this time, Luther in Germany, and Calvin in Geneva, were looking about for poets to translate the whole of the Psalms of David into the common tongue, that Christian people might have something to sing. Calvin, at once availed himself of Marot's gallantry to the ladies of France, and introduced the poet's versions from the Psalter, into the Reformed Church of Geneva. On any particular Sunday of 1540, might have been heard the noble lords and ladies of his most Catholic majesty Francis I, and the humble congregation of the great heretic John Calvin, singing the same words out of the new psalm book of Clement Marot. The fashion of the court was short-lived. Not so the singing of the people. They had never before been allowed to sing. The Scriptures had been shut up in a dead language. Now they were released. The effect was electric. Hymns and music were both received with unbounded enthusiasm. France and Germany were infatuated with a love of psalm-singing. Nowhere did the new mania take such a hold of the national mind, as in Germany. The miner's son, Martin, who, in his school days, had caroled for bread, before the doors of the burghers of Eisenach, remembered the old melodies, and when the people asked him for the Bread of Life, he gave forth out of his treasure-house, things new and old. The great Reformer of the German Church, was also, her first great singer. Luther gave the German people their Hymn Book, as well as their Bible. His enthusiasm is well known. He gath-

ered up the best of the old hymns, had them transferred to the tongue of the people, wrote new hymns, and composed the music to some of them. So popular were his hymns, that spurious collections were hawked about Germany under his name. The hymn was the great power of the Reformation upon the masses of the people. In Augsburg, in 1551, three or four thousand people, singing together at a time, was but a trifle. Poets arose everywhere. One Hans Sachs was the author of no less than six thousand hymns, and their poets are numbered by hundreds. A hymn had scarcely gushed from the heart of a poet, until it spread everywhere, penetrated families and churches, was sung before every door, in work shops, market places, streets and fields, and with a single stroke of a popular hymn, whole cities were won to the Evangelical faith. The youth of the day sang them in place of the ribald songs. Mothers sang them beside the cradle, servants in the kitchen, market men in the streets, and farmers in the fields. The Papacy was terrified by the religious singing mania. Psalm-singing and heresy became synonymous terms. All good Catholics were forbidden, under penalties, to try their voices on the heretic psalms.

The new system passed over into England, and here, too, the people became jubilant. The Refugees, whom Mary had driven to the continent, when Elizabeth ascended the throne, came back trained and enthusiastic psalm-singers. The enemy characterized the eagerness of the people, as an infectious frenzy. The singing began in a little church of London, but soon after at St. Paul's Cross, six thousand persons of all ages, might be heard singing the new songs, "which," said Bishop Jewel, "was sadly annoying to the mass priests and the devil." Puritanism, then in its infancy, throbbed with the popular exhilaration. The use of Psalmody became the badge and test of sympathy with the Reformation. As psalm-singing and heresy were synonymous on the continent, so psalm-singing and Puritanism were in England. The Psalms in the vulgar tongue were stigmatized as "Geneva Jiggs," and "Beza's Ballets," but they soon became, in fact, the ballads and war songs of the nation. The proclamation against the queen of Scots, in London, 1586, was received with the ringing of bells, making of bonfires, and singing of psalms, in every one of the streets and lanes of the city. The forces of the Parliament, in Marston Cornfield, fell to singing psalms,

and after the battle of Dunbar, the republican soldiers and their General Lambert halted near Haddington, and sang the 117th Psalm. Cromwell's soldiers were nick-named the Psalm singers. A comedy of the times represents the Roundheads as being used to sing a Psalm and then *fall on*.

As in the morning of some bright summer day, the choristers of field and grove make earth and air, and all things tremulous with their melody, so when the glorious morning of the Reformation dawned, there poured almost instantaneously from the lips and hearts of a great chorus of song, such as the age had never heard. Out of the walls of the cloister, out of the work-shop, the harvest field, the home, came they; hymns for family joys and sorrows, hymns for toil and struggle, hymns for the sick bed and the wayside, and hymns for battle, ringing with the inspiring step of martial music; songs to march to, songs to fight, blasts from the trumpet, before which the strongholds of the enemy fell.

A quaint old writer of the seventeenth century gives us his idea of the singing in England, in that day. He was in York, at the time of the famous siege of eleven weeks. He tells us: "Every Sunday the Old Minster was even cramming and squeezing full, and sometimes a cannon bullet, not a one hundred and eighty pounder of our day, has come in at the windows, and bounced about from pillar to pillar, even like some furious fiend, or evil spirit. But now you must take notice, that they had then a custom in that church, which I hear not in any other cathedral, which was, that always before the sermon, the whole congregation, with the choir and organ, sang a psalm, and you must know, that there was a most excellent, large, plump, lusty, full-speaking organ, which cost, I am credibly informed, a thousand pounds. This organ, I say when the Psalm was sung before the sermon, being let out into all the fulness of stops, together with the choir began the Psalm. But when that vast concordant unity of the whole congregational chorus came, as I may say, thundering in, even so as it made the very ground shake under us, Oh! the unutterable and ravishing soul's delight, in which I was transported and wrapt up in high contemplation, so that there was no room left in body, soul, and spirit, for anything below divine and heavenly raptures."

We have been listening to the murmurs of the great

stream of song, as it has flowed on from age to age, sometimes nearly buried in the sands of time, and now again bursting the barriers of centuries in a rush, a torrent of music, and then again flowing on calmly in a broad, deep current, yet never utterly dried up, or silent. The deepest, purest life of man, the inmost piety of the Church, has flowed on in hymns. He who knows the way, hymns and music have flowed, can trace the veins and arteries, in which the blood of piety has flowed. We have caught echoes from the ancient sanctuary, from Miriam's peal of victory, from the hymns that the early Christians sang to Christ before day-break, hymns of burial, sung in the crypts of the Catacombs, where young men and maidens, old men and children, were laid away to rest. We have had hymns of the martyrs, sung by hunted worshippers, at midnight, in dens and caves of the earth, amidst armed men, in ambush, by prisoners in dungeons and in flames. We have caught notes from the hymns of St. Ambrose, and many others, that rose up like birds in the early centuries, and have come flying and singing all the way down to us, and still with voices as strong and sweet as they were a thousand years ago. We have heard the battle songs of the Church, Crusaders' hymns, that rolled forth their truths upon the Oriental air, while a thousand horses' hoofs kept time below, and ten thousand palm leaves whispered and kept time above, hymns of the Huguenots, of the Covenanters and Puritans, hymns, that, as with the pinions of eagles, have borne up to the bosom of God the sorrows, the desires, and the aspirations of his poor and oppressed children on earth, hymns that have gushed out of pressed and broken hearts, as fountains out of cleft rocks.

The great battle song of the Lutheran Church, Luther's *Eine feste Burg*—a Tower of Safety is our God—is said to have come into the heart of the Reformer on his way to the Diet of Worms. Both it, and the battle song of Gustavus Adolphus, the lofty Christian hero of his age, were consecrated for all time by a memorable incident, worthy of all honor.

On the morning of his last battle, when the armies of Gustavus and Wallenstein were drawn up, waiting for the morning mist to clear away, ere they sounded the charge, the king commanded Luther's grand hymn to be sung, then his own, accompanied with the trumpets and drums of the whole army. As they ceased singing, the mist

broke away, and the sunshine burst on the two armies. For a moment, Gustavus knelt beside his horse, in the face of his soldiers, and repeated his battle-prayer: "O Lord Jesus Christ, bless our arms, and this day's battle, for the glory of thy holy name." Then, passing along the lines with a few brief words of encouragement, he gave the battle cry, "*God with us*," with which he had conquered at Leipzig, and rushed on the foe. In the thickest of the fight he was found, bleeding with a death wound, but from the dying lips of the martyr, fell these noble, Christian words: "I seal with my blood the liberty and the religion of the German nation." Thus, have the hymns of the past been embalmed for us. We cannot gather up all the precious names of men, out of whose hearts the dear Cross pressed the living songs of the Church; St. Ephrem, Ambrose and Gregory, Luther, Gerhardt and Tersteegen, gentle George Herbert, borne to his grave with cathedral chants, blind John Milton, singing on in his blindness, Richard Baxter, so basely brow-beaten by the infamous Jeffries, Bishop Ken, the non-juror; Watts and Doddridge the two great non-conformist hymn writers, the brothers Wesley pelted, threatened, mocked, yet distilling out of their hearts sweet songs, that go chiming everywhere like silvery bells, cheering death beds, giving courage to brave men, and patience to suffering women; the gentle tortured spirit of Cowper, pouring out, in the intervals of his terrible malady, his trembling, but immortal song, and many others, not to mention those great masters of music, whose chorals have a deathless life. The treasury of all the past is ours, and much of the best of it has come down to us in Christian song.

As in the early autumn, the birds begin to look from the north southward, and springing up from the shrubs, the reeds, and the waters, begin their flight, and as they wind their way out of every tree and copse, from orchard and garden come forth new singers, increasing in number at every furlong, until, at length, coming down from their high pathways, they cover provinces, and fill forests, and are heard caroling and triumphing through all the unfrosted orchards, amid all the groves, and the vines, the olives, the palms, and the oranges of the tropics, with their wonderous bursts of song. So, like these birds, these sacred hymns of the past, whose nests have been found in every age, from the very gray and twilight of creation,

seem to have risen up, spread, and plumed their wings, and flown down to our day, and into the pleasant gardens and vineyards God has given to his Church, and their sweet and heavenly music, as they flit from branch to branch, filleth the Church with melody, comforting and cheering, as in old time, the hearts of God's people, as if once again, the advent was renewed, and God's angels were in the air.

ARTICLE XII.

NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

Cyclopædia of Biblical, Theological and Ecclesiastical Literature. Prepared by Rev. John McClintock, D. D., and James Strong, S. T. D. Vol. III. New York: Harper and Brothers. We have already spoken of this important contribution to our religious literature. When finished, it will be the most thorough, compact and satisfactory work of the kind yet published. The present volume exhausts the letter G, and three additional volumes, it is supposed, will complete the work. The lamented death of the senior editor will occasion no delay in the enterprise. Its labors will be carried on by Dr. Strong, with the assistance of scholars connected with different denominations, and brought to a speedy conclusion.

A Manual of Church History. By H. E. F. Guericke, Doctor and Professor of Theology in Halle. Translated from the German. By W. G. T. Shedd, D. D., Baldwin Professor in Union Theological Seminary. Andover: W. F. Draper. This volume embraces Mediæval Church History, from A. D., 590 to 1030, when Hildebrand, under the name of Gregory VII, ascended the Papal chair. Among other topics, it discusses the diffusion of Christianity among the Gothic, Scandinavian and Sclavic races; the controversies in reference to the two Wills in Christ, Image Worship and the Lord's Supper, and the schism between the East and the West. In connection with a former volume, which appeared in 1857, this edition gives an interesting history of the Church, during the first ten centuries.

The Elements of the Hebrew Language. By Rev. A. D. Jones. A. M. Andover: W. F. Draper. This is a work, which corresponds, in its general arrangements, with many of the elementary text books in common use, and is designed to facilitate the study of the Hebrew in our classical schools. The language is divested of many of its peculiarities and difficulties, and its study, by a simple and progressive series of exercises, is rendered comparatively easy and pleasant.

The Close of the Ministry. By Rev. William Hanna, D. D., LL.D.
The Passion Week. By Rev. William Hanna, D. D., LL.D. New

York: Robert Carter & Bros. These are the third and fourth volumes in this excellent series. They are, like their predecessors, written in a popular, intelligible style, and are free from everything like formal criticism, but, at the same time, the best results of modern criticism and mature biblical study are presented. The author has shown great skill in grouping the leading events of the Saviour's life, and exhibits throughout a devout, evangelical and elevated spirit.

Our Father in Heaven: The Lord's Prayer explained and illustrated. A Book for the Young. By Rev. J. H. Wilson, M. A., Barclay Church, Edinburgh. New York: Robert Carter & Bros. This book, prepared originally for the young, is full of illustrations and incidents of rich scriptural truth, derived from this beautiful and inexhaustible prayer, upon which so much has been written.

Christ in Song. Hymns of Immanuel: Selected from all Ages, with Notes. By Philip Schaff, D. D. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co. To those who are interested in sacred poetry, it will be a satisfaction to learn, that this is the fourth edition of this beautiful book, and that it is made to meet the increasing demand for a cheaper issue. It contains, as already stated, the richest gems of Grecian and Roman hymns, as well as the finest specimens of German and English song, in the Church. The taste and judgment, displayed in the arrangement and classification of the material, are such as the erudition and practical skill of Dr. Schaff might lead us to expect.

Music Hall Sermons. By William H. H. Murray, Pastor of Park Street Church. Boston: Fields, Osgood & Co. These discourses, originally delivered before large audiences in the Music Hall, are now given in the more permanent book-form. Although not remarkable for original or profound thought, they are graphic, and have all the freshness of speech, and bear evidences of careful composition. They contain passages of great beauty, illustrations drawn from pure nature, marked by simplicity, directness and earnestness. Our criticism as to the matter is, that whilst the author presents most clearly some of the great and distinctive doctrines of the Gospel, there are utterances, which seem to us unguarded and latitudinarian. Some of the most instructive truths of the Bible, are often kept too much in the background, or entirely ignored.

Sermons Preached in St James' Chapel, York Street, London. By Rev. Stopford A. Brooke, M. A. Boston: Fields, Osgood & Co. Although these discourses are unequal in merit, they are unusually interesting, and their perusal will not disappoint the individual, who has been interested in the author's *Memoirs* of Rev. F. W. Robertson. They are marked by originality and force of thought, and by freshness and clearness of expression.

Sermons Preached at Trinity Chapel, Brighton. By Rev. Frederick W. Robertson. In two volumes. Boston: Fields, Osgood & Co. These volumes are among the ablest contributions to this department of literature, that these latter days, so prolific in productions of this kind, have produced. If the author is not a creator, he is certainly a clear and successful interpreter, of thought. If the discourses are not distinguished by the originality of their ideas, they are pre-eminent in their representations of these ideas. Their richness of thought and practical direction, their philosophic tone and elegance, their earnestness and power, fully sustain the high reputation, which the author, as a pulpit orator, enjoyed.

Life and Letters of Frederick W. Robertson, A. M. Incumbent of Trinity Chapel, Brighton. Edited by Stopford A. Brooke, late Chaplain to the Embassy at Berlin. Boston: Fields, Osgood & Co. This volume cannot fail to exert an influence on all who are interested in spiritual questions, and in Christian experience. Those, who have read the sermons of the subject, will be glad to follow him in his beautiful life, brief as his career was, to learn his modes of thought, the source and progress of his views, and in his letters, to observe his love for the race, his great tenderness of heart, his delicacy of feeling, his tried and suggestive experience. The friends, with whom he lived, were warmly attached to him, especially his congregation, and the workmen at Brighton, where his name is still a tower of strength, and the effect of his ministry will long be felt.

Life of James Hamilton, D. D. By William Arnot, Edinburgh. Second edition. New York: Robert Carter & Bros. This is one of the most interesting and fascinating biographies ever given to the public, both in the character of its subject, and the skill of the biographer. The wonderful industry of Dr. Hamilton, his ardor, earnestness and thoroughness in study, the extent and accuracy of his knowledge, the diversity of his gifts, and his devotion to the work to which he had dedicated his life, render his biography very attractive. His life, too, extending over a long period, from 1814 to 1867, brings the reader in contact with a large number of eminent names still fresh and fragrant. Dr. Arnot, whose recent visit to this country has awakened so deep an interest, is an earnest and vigorous writer and, in the work before us shows a living appreciation of his theme.

Memoir of W. C. Burns, M. A. Missionary to China, from the English Presbyterian Church. By Rev. Islay Burns, D. D., Professor of Theology at Free Church College, Glasgow. New York: Robert Carter & Bros. This is an exceedingly interesting Memoir of an energetic, Pauline missionary of the cross. The narrative traces the subject from his youth, through the successive stages of life, gives a graphic account of the power that attended his preaching at Kiloyth, Dundee, St. Andrews, Edinboro', of his successful labors in Dublin and Canada, and finally, his career in the holy work, to which he was consecrated, as a missionary in the Chinese field. The Appendix contains much valuable information in relation to China.

Memoir of Rev. John Scudder, M. D. By Rev. J. B. Waterbury, D. D. New York: Harper & Bros. The subject of this Memoir, was for thirty-six years missionary in India. He was distinguished for his many Christian qualities. His simplicity of character, singleness of heart, his great skill and unflinching courage in proclaiming the Gospel, his absolute self-consecration to the work, in which he was engaged, inspired the reverence, and won the admiration of all, who were brought into any relation with him.

Life of Rufus Choate. By Samuel Gilman Brown, D. D., President of Hamilton College. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. This is the second edition of this exceedingly interesting memoir, which was originally published in connection with Dr. Choate's Works. It has been, for some years, out of print, and, although in the present reproduction, it is in the main unchanged there are numerous additions, in the form of letters, reminiscences, and selections from his writings. It is a charming biography, most skilfully presented, of a gifted and brilliant man.

Life of Bismarck, Private and Political, with Descriptive Notices of his Ancestry. By J. G. L. Hesekiel. Translated and edited with Introduction, Explanatory Notes, and Appendix. By Rev. K. R. H. Mackenzie, F. S. A. With upwards of one hundred illustrations by Diez, Grimm, Pietsch, and others. New York: Harper & Bros. This is neither a panegyric of the great Prussian statesman, nor a dry narrative of his character, but a clear and harmonious view of his life, telling the reader what he is, and what he has done, describing him in every position of life, his boyhood and college days, his preparation for business, the eventful and thrilling scenes, in which he participated, and the power, which as Minister-President and Court he exercised, written by an enthusiastic admirer. No one can read the book without receiving a very distinct and full impression of the character of this remarkable man, and of the events, with which his name is so indelibly linked.

A Treatise on the Christian Doctrine of Marriage. By Hugh Davey Evans, LL. D. New York: Hurd & Houghton. This is an elaborate discussion of the whole subject of Marriage, in the light of reason, history and Scripture, one of the most complete in the English language, and is designed to correct the low tone of public opinion, that exists on marriage and divorce. The author was a distinguished jurist, and, although a layman, had a high reputation as a theologian. The volume contains a biographical sketch of Dr. Evans, also Bishop Andrewes' Discourse against Second Marriage, now published for the first time in this country.

Scenes and Incidents in the Life of the Apostle Paul, viewed as illustrating the nature and influence of the Christian Religion. By Albert Barnes. Philadelphia: Zeigler, McCurdy & Co. The title sufficiently indicates the character of the work. Its design is to illustrate the doctrines and duties of Christianity, its influence in its first contact with the world, from the example of a most illustrious disciple, employed in its propagation. On every page the author's rich and varied abilities, his rare and practical learning, his clear and mature views of divine truth, are apparent. The volume, which contains a most accurate, faithful engraved portrait of the author, ought to find a place in every household in the land.

Our Father's House, or the Unwritten Word. By Daniel March, D. D. Philadelphia: Zeigler, McCurdy & Co. This is a popular treatise on Natural Theology, and presents to the reader God, as revealed in the material universe. The work is evangelical, practical and able. Dr. March's productions are all distinguished for their variety of thought, grandeur of description, and affluence of expression. They abound in rich, practical religious instruction. This volume is embellished with twelve beautiful steel engravings.

Hedged In. By Elizabeth Stuart Phelps. Boston: Fields, Osgood & Co. A fallen girl of sixteen with her child, brought into the world under circumstances of infamy, runs from vicious associations, to seek refuge among the pure and good. Her rejection by many professing to be influenced by the spirit of Christ, her introduction into a pious household, her trials and triumphs, her restoration to a life of honor and usefulness, her Christian death, are the materials of this most interesting and well written story. It inculcates Scriptural sentiments, and condemns that false delicacy which would turn away from objects claiming Christian sympathy and Christian effort.

In this work are to be found the thought, vigor, and suggestiveness, which characterize "The Gates Ajar."

In the midst of the North Sea. From the German of Marie Roskowska, by J. F. Smith. *Anton, the Fisherman.* By Franz Hoffman. Translated by Mrs. M. A. Manderson. *Rene, the Little Savoyard.* By Franz Hoffman. Translated by J. F. Smith. *Fritz; or Filial Love.* By Franz Hoffman. Translated from the German by Mrs. M. A. Manderson. *Geyer Walty; or Fidelity Rewarded.* By Franz Hoffman. Translated from the German by Mrs. M. A. Manderson. Philadelphia: Lutheran Board of Publication. These are all very interesting and useful stories embraced in the "Fatherland Series," written with dramatic power, from an evangelical standpoint, and pervaded with Christian sentiments, full of faith, simplicity and pathos. They are well translated, so natural and idiomatic in style, that no one could imagine they were of German origin. This is a very attractive series of books for the young, and is deserving of the kind consideration of all who are interested in a pure literature for the Sunday School and the family. Let the Church give a generous support to all its publications, and strengthen the hands of those, who are laboring for its elevation.

An Alphabetical Index to the New Testament. Common Version. Suitable to any edition, and useful to all ministers, teachers and Bible readers. *A Year in the Sunday School,* from the Journal of an Old Teacher. *Out of the Orphan Asylum; or Sketches in a Country Parish.* *Christiana Hatherley's Childhood.* *Mistress Margery.* A Tale of the Lollards. Philadelphia: American Sunday School Union. We recommend these books with great confidence, as we feel certain that they will be valued by every one interested in the work of Sunday School instruction. The "Alphabetical Index," by Dr. Allibone, we have already described in terms of high commendation. "A Year in the Sunday School," is a guide-book to the teacher, in the form of an interesting and instructive narrative. "Out of the Orphan Asylum," is a book full of incidents, written in a simple and forcible style, elevated in its tone, and abounding in useful lessons. "Christiana Hatherley's Childhood," and "Mistress Margery," are also books, that may be read by the young with interest and profit. We desire, in this connection, to direct attention to the "Large Colored Diagrams," published by the Union, and designed for Popular Lectures to Sunday Schools. These illustrations are printed on strong cloth and appropriately painted; they may be distinctly seen at a great distance, and may be used for exhibition in the day time, or at night. The "American Sunday School Union" is a most valuable Institution. Evangelical in its character, catholic in its spirit, and liberal in its principles, it is worthy of the encouragement and support of Christians of every name.

Violet's Idol. By Joanna H. Matthews. *Lilly's Lesson.* By Joanna H. Matthews. *Busy Bees; or Winter Evenings in Margaret Russel's School.* New York: Robert Carter & Bros. These volumes are illustrations of the activity, with which these enterprising publishers are adding to their list of juveniles. The high religious tone of these publications in this department are well known.

The Golden Cap and other Stories. By Rev. J. De Liefde. New York: Robert Carter & Bros. This is a beautiful legend connected with the early history of Holland, based upon the persecutions of Fostedina, who was compelled to wear a crown of thorns, because she

aided the escape of some Christian captives. The other stories in the volume possess merit, and the illustrations are such as to interest children.

Bessie on her Travels. By Joanna H. Matthews. New York: Robert Carter & Bros. This is a most fascinating book for the young, uniting the useful and the pleasing, in such a way, as to commend it strongly to the attention of those, in whose interests it has been written. This is the sixth of the series, all written by the accomplished daughter of the late Dr. Matthews, who was so highly esteemed as a scholar and a Christian.

A Braid of Cords. By A. L. O. E. New York: Robert Carter & Bros. This is a series of stories, designed to illustrate the cords of Sin, of Love, of Affliction, the cords of Friendship, and of Life, beautifully wrought out, abounding in that strong sense and meaning for which the writer is distinguished.

History of the American Civil War. By J. W. Draper, M. D., LL. D. In three volumes. Vol. III. New York: Harper & Bros. This is the concluding volume of Prof. Draper's elaborate contribution to the literature of our late Civil War, and contains the events from the proclamation of the emancipation of the slaves to the end of the great conflict. It is by an able writer and profound thinker, and discusses the subject from a philosophical point of view, in a calm, dispassionate, impartial spirit, and with great clearness and vigor. His sources of information are varied and reliable, and many facts, new and of the deepest interest, are here presented to the public. The story of the struggle is well told, and the work, we are sure, will be extensively read, and with instruction and advantage.

A Constitutional View of the late War between the States; its causes, character, conduct and results. Presented in a Series of Colloquies at Liberty Hall. By Alexander H. Stephens. In two Volumes. Vol. II. Philadelphia: National Publishing House. We have already spoken with favor of this work, in a notice of the first volume, and although as a narrative of events, and of the antagonism of ideas, wrought into our civil life, it is by no means, equal to many other works on the subject which have appeared, it is yet a work of real interest, as showing the political philosophy of one, whose views exercised great influence in moulding the opinions, and developing the spirit, that led to the terrible conflict. The literature of the Civil War would not be complete without this contribution to its history.

The Romance of Spanish History. By John S. C. Abbott. With Illustrations. New York: Harper & Bros. This volume is filled with the most wonderful narrative, connected with important events in Spanish History, incidents interesting and instructive, stranger than fiction has ever produced. Among the subjects presented, are the "Moorish Invasion," "Marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella," "Christopher Columbus," "Charles V.," "Philip II.," "Charles IV and Maria Louisa," and the "Revolution." The interest of the work would be heightened, if it were more philosophical and less romantic.

In Spain and a Visit to Portugal. By Hans Christian Andersen. New York: Hurd & Houghton. This is a book of travels, written in an attractive style, and concerning a country, recently brought so prominently to the attention of the whole civilized world, in the condition of which, and the character of its people there is, at the present time, a special interest felt.

Hadyn and other Poems. By the author of "Life Below." New York: Hurd & Houghton. The author of this volume is no novice in poetical composition. He possesses the elements of the genuine poet. His verses are musical, with passages of rare beauty.

Warp and Woof. A Book of Verse. By Samuel W. Duffield. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co. The author of this work is Pastor of a Presbyterian Church, and is known by his successful translations of some of the old Latin Hymns. The idea of weaving is maintained through the volume, which is divided into pieces woven from old threads, woven in war time, woven from Church patterns, woven at odd hours, woven on quiet days, and shreds and tags, all giving evidence of poetic taste and ability.

The Laws of Discursive Thought: Being a Text-Book of Formal Logic. By James McCosh, LL. D., President of New Jersey College, Princeton. New York: Robert Carter & Bros. This is the work of one who is master of the subject, and thoroughly acquainted with the systems of those, who have preceded him in this department of science. The philosophical studies of the author, added to his long and successful experience as a teacher of Logic and Mental Philosophy, give to his productions great weight and value. The work is a condensed but exhaustive exhibition of the principles of the science, presented with great clearness, freshness and compactness, and is admirably adapted to the object intended.

The Science of Government as connected with American Institutions. By Joseph Alden, D. D., LL. D. *Citizen's Manual.* A Text-Book on Government, for Common Schools. By Joseph Alden, D. D., LL. D. New York: Sheldon & Co. The study of the Institutions of our country has strong claims upon the attention of American youth, and in the volumes on our table, the subject is presented in a clear and thorough discussion, adapted to the comprehension of those, who are in a process of education for the active duties of life, by one whose whole life has been devoted to the instruction of the young.

Annual of Scientific Discovery: or Year-Book of Facts in Science and Art for 1869. Edited by Samuel Kneeland, M. D., Secretary of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. The object of this valuable serial is to exhibit the most important discoveries and improvements in Mechanics, the useful Arts, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Astronomy, Botany, Geology, Zoology, Mineralogy, Meteorology, Geography, etc., together with notes on the progress of science during the last year, a list of scientific publications, obituaries of scientific men. We have found this work very useful for reference. The present volume contains a portrait of Prof. Dana, of Yale College.

The Principles of Latin Grammar, comprising the substance of the most approved Grammars extant, with an Appendix and complete Index. By Peter Bullions, D. D. Revised by Charles D. Morris. New York: Sheldon & Co. We have been for many years interested in all Dr. Bullions' Text-books, who, from his long experience and marked success in the work of teaching, understood the wants of the pupil. Whilst the principles of all Grammars are the same, we think no teacher can make a mistake in adopting the one before us, in which some important additions and changes have been made by Professor Morris.

Grammar of the Latin Language for the use of Schools. With Exercises and Vocabularies. By William Bingham, A. M. *Latin*

Reader, adapted to Bingham's Latin Grammar. With Notes and a Vocabulary. By William Bingham, A. M. *Cæsar's Commentaries on the Gallic War*. With a Vocabulary and Notes. By William Bingham, A. M. Philadelphia: E. H. Butler & Co. These are all good Text-books, and worthy of a place in any of our elementary schools.

A Greek Grammar for Beginners. By William H. Waddell. New York: Harper & Brothers. Everything is here excluded that is not absolutely necessary to the pupil, commencing the study of the language. It is just the book that is needed, and for a beginner is more satisfactory than a larger and more comprehensive treatise.

Cæsar's Commentaries on the Gallic War: With Explanatory Notes, a Copious Dictionary, and a Map of Gaul. By Albert Harkness, LL. D. *First Greek Book*: comprising an outline of the Forms and Inflections of the Language: a complete Analytical Syntax, and an Introductory Reader. With Notes and Vocabulary. By Albert Harkness, LL. D. New York: D. Appleton & Co. These are admirable text-books, by an experienced and successful teacher, and worthy of the high commendation they have received.

First Book of Botany. Designed to cultivate the observing powers of children. By E. A. Youmans. New York: D. Appleton & Co. The object of this manual, is to introduce the young pupil to a knowledge of Botany, by the direct observation of vegetable forms, so that the habit of correctly analyzing the plant with the view of ascertaining its qualities, at the very beginning, may be formed.

American Edition of Dr. William Smith's Dictionary of the Bible. Revised and Edited by Professor H. B. Hackett, D. D. With the co-operation of Ezra Abbott, LL. D. New York: Hurd & Houghton. Parts XXVI, and XXVII, of this treasure-house of Biblical literature are on our table, and close with an article on *Siddim*. This is a work, which no scholar's library can afford to be without. The American Edition is a great improvement upon the Dictionary as originally published in England.

Questions on the Gospels for the Church Year. By Rev. E. Greenwald, D. D., Pastor of the Church of the Holy Trinity, Lancaster. Vol. II. Lancaster, Pa. Published by the School Association of the Church of the Holy Trinity. John Baer's Sons.

Christian Benevolence. A sermon preached in the Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Holy Trinity, Lancaster, Pa., August 1st, 1869. By the Pastor, Rev. E. Greenwald, D. D.

The Old Paths. Penny Tracts, I. Lutheran Book Store, Vine st. *Why are you not a member of the Church?* By Joseph Few Smith, D. D. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Publication Committee.

A Sermon delivered before the Society for the promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education, at the West, November 9th, 1869. By J. Few Smith, D. D. Newark, N. J.

We have received from Henry C. Bowen, Publisher of "*The Independent*," New York, the beautiful steel engravings of President Grant, Vice-President Colfax, and Edward M. Stanton. The first two are engraved by A. H. Ritchie, the last by Murray, each one is an admirable likeness. The first two are most liberally offered to every subscriber of *The Independent* who sends one new name with the money (\$2 50,) also to each subscriber whose name is thus sent. The picture of Stanton is likewise presented to every old subscriber of *The Independent*, who forwards a new name, not on the books the previous year.

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The *Evangelical Quarterly Review* for April, edited by Prof. M. L. Stoever, LL. D., Gettysburg, has an attractive title of contents. There are fourteen articles, mainly by prominent men in the Lutheran Church.—*National Baptist*.

The April number of the *Review* makes its appearance with its wonted promptness. The articles in the present number are well written, and some of them possess more than usual merit.—*Reformed Church Messenger*.

The April number comes to us with more than its usual strength and richness. Under the benign editorship of Prof. M. L. Stoever, LL. D., the *Quarterly* is making for itself a name and a place in the heart of the Church, which bids fair to grow more and more, until the Lutheran Church will have the best reason for being proud of her *Review*, as among the best *Quarterlies* in the land.—*American Lutheran*.

This number of the *Review* is one of the best that has appeared for a long time. The whole Church should sustain it. No minister should be without it, and it should have a place on every intelligent layman's table.—*Lutheran Visitor*.

The *Evangelical Review* edited by M. L. Stoever, LL. D., for April, furnishes an interesting variety of articles, some of which are on subjects of great public interest in the Church. Its appearance is prompt, and the zeal of the excellent editor deserves the warmest encouragement.—*Lutheran and Missionary*.

The article by Dr. Valentine is characterized by the careful scholarship of the author. The *Reminiscences* of Rev. John Heck and Dr. Michael Diehl, are by the Editor, who never tires in the grateful labor of rescuing from oblivion, the toils and victories of our fathers and brethren. *Luther on the Ministry*, translated from the German by Prof. Martin, throws light on a subject much controverted. Prof. Ferrier in his critique on Hamlet presents, in brief compass, the mature results of profound study of the subject. *The Life and Times of Ambrose*, is a very interesting sketch of this prominent Latin Church Father. *Martin Stephan and the Stephanites* is a most valuable sketch of the remarkable career of a remarkable man. *The New Landers and German Redemptioners*, is an interesting paper from the busy and popular pen of Mr. Weiser. The translation of *Schmid's Dogmatic Theology*, by Dr. Hay, is a valuable contribution.—*Lutheran Observer*.